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PROCEEDINGS

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OF

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NOVEMBER, 1884,

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

First Meeting, 4th November, 1884.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., President, in the chair.

The President announced with great regret the loss the Society had suffered since the last meeting by the decease of some of its most distinguished members:—

PROFESSOR R. K. LEPSIUS, *Honorary Member*, born 1811, died 10th July, 1884.

EDWARD THOMAS ROGERS-BEY, Honorary Member, born 1831, died 10th June, 1884.

SIR ERASMUS WILSON, LL.D., F.R.S., Vice-President, born 1809, died 8th August, 1884.

STANISLAS GUYARD, Member, born 1843, died 6th September, 1884.

[No. xlviii.]

I

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:-

- From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXVI. Nos. 230, 231, 232. February—May, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Society of Antiquaries of London:—The Proceedings, Second Series. Vol. IX. No. 3. December 7, 1882, to June 28, 1883. 8vo.
- List of Fellows. 12th June, 1884.
- From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XL. Parts 2 and 3. Nos. 158, 159. May and August, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland:— The Tournal. New Series. Vol. XVI. Parts 3 and 4. July and October, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Geographical Society:-The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10. June to October, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17. May to July, 1884. 4to. London. The Transactions. Session 1883-84. 4to. London. Sept., 1884.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:-The Journal. Vol. XIII, No. 4; Vol. XIV, No. 1. May and August, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Archæological Institute:-The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLI. Nos. 162 and 163. 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement July and October, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Philosophical Society of Glasgow:-The Proceedings, 1883-84. Vol. XV. 8vo. Glasgow.
- From the Victoria Institute:—The Journal. Vol. XVII. 8vo, 1884.
- From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres:—Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1884. Quatrième série. Tome XII. Janvier-Mars, Avril-Juin. 8vo. Paris.
- From the Societé Royale des Antiquaries du Nord:—Aarboger, 1882. Part 2. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1884.
- From the American Oriental Society:—Proceedings at Boston. May, 1884. 8vo.

- From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Professor Basil L. Gildersleave. Vol VI, Nos. 1 and 2. 8vo. Baltimore, 1884. April and July.
- From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Edited by Rev. Stephen D. Peet. Vol. VI. Nos. 4 and 5. July and September, 1884. 8vo. Chicago.
- From the Editor:—Le Múseon, Revue internationale. Tome III. No. 1. Janvier, 1884. 8vo. Paris.
- Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide. Premiere Partie. Compte-Rendu des Séances. 8vo. Liede. 1884.
- From the Author:—Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia. R. V. Lanzone. 4th Part. 4to. Torino. 1884.
- From the Author:—Over drie handschriften op Papyrus bekend onder de Titels van Papyrus du Lac Moeris du Fayoum et du Labyrinthe, door W. Pleijte. 4to. Amsterdam. 1884.
 - Reprinted from the Koninkliike Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam.
- From the Author, W. Golénischeff:—Sur l'origine alphabétique de certains hiéroglyphes.
 - From Vol. II. of the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden.
- From the Author, Johannes Dümichen:—Zur Erinnerung an Richard Lepsius. Strassburg. 1884.
- From F. G. Hilton Price:—Notes upon some Ancient Egyptian Implements.
 - Journal Anthropological Institute. 1884.
- From the Author:—Die Säule aus Philæ in Berlin. Mit einem grammaticalischen Anhang. Von Ludwig Stern. Folio.
 - Reprinted from the Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache. 1884.
- From the Author:—Nine Hundred Miles up the Nile, November 3rd, 1883—February 9th, 1884. By the Rev. F. A. Walker, D.D., F.L.S. 8vo. London. 1884.
- From the Publishers, Messrs. Harrison and Sons:—The London Obelisk. By George Paterson Yeats. 8vo. London. 1884.
- From Madame Lenormant:—Discours prononcés sur la tombe de M. François Lenormant le 11 Décembre, 1883.
- From the Author:—Divisione politica e militare dell' antica Assiria note storiche del Dr. Lodovico A. Oberziner. 8vo. Trento. 1884.

From the Author:—Stèles trouvés a Hadrumète. Par Philippe Berger. 4to. Paris. 1884.

Extrait de la Gazette Archéologique. Tome IX.

From the Author:—Biblical and Historical Criticism, the Language of Nimrod, the Kushite. By Dr. Paul Haupt. July, 1884.

Reprinted from John Hopkins University Circulars. Vol. II. No. 7 (?).

From the Author:—The Babylonian "Woman's Language." By P. Haupt. 1884.

From the American Journal of Philology. Vol. V. No. 1.

From the Author:—Babylonian Life and History. By E. A. Wallis Budge, B.A. 8vo. London. 1884.

From the Author:—The Empire of the Hittites. By Rev. William Wright, D.D. With Decipherment of Hittite Inscriptions. By Prof. A. H. Sayce, LL.D. A Hittite Map. By Col. Sir Charles Wilson, F.R.S., and Capt. Conder, R.E., and a Complete Set of Hittite Inscriptions. Revised by Mr. W. H. Rylands, F.S.A. 8vo. London. 1884.

From the Secretary of State for India in Council:—The Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XV. The Upanishads. Part 2, and Vol. XXI. The Saddharma-Pundarika. 8vo. Oxford. 1884.

From the Rev. J. Marshall:—History of Ancient Egypt. By George Rawlinson, M.A. 2 vols. London. 1881.

From the Rev. J. Marshall:—Map of the Holy Land, constructed by C. W. M. Van de Velde. Gotha. 1858.

From S. Birch, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., *President*:—From Egypt to Palestine through Sinai, the Wilderness, and the South Country. By S. C. Bartlett, D.D., LL.D. 8vo. New York. 1879.

From the Author:—Die Chamirsprache in Abessinien, II. Von Leo Reinisch. 8vo. Wien. 1884.

Aus dem Jahrgange 1884 der Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Classe der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften (CVI Bd., I. Heft, S. 317), besonders abgedruckt.

From the Author:—On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika. By Robert Philips Greg, Esq., F.S.A., F.G.S. 4to. London. 1884.

Reprinted from the Archæologia. Vol. XLVIII.

From W. Golénischeff:—Assirîgskié klinsobrâznouié textoui (Cuneiform Assyrian Texts). By M. Nikolsky, Professor of Hebrew at the University of Moscow. Part 1. 4to. Moscow. 1883.

From W. Golénischeff: - Soumériyskiy, gimm bôgou ogniâ (Sumerian Hymn to the God of Fire). By M. Nikolsky. Part 2. 4to. Moscow. 1884.

From John Holmes:—An Account of an Egyptian Mummy presented to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society by the late John Blayds, Esq. Drawn up at the request of the Council by William Osburn, jun., F.R.S.L., Secretary to the Society, &c., &c. 8vo. Leeds. 1828.

From George Bertin:-The New Testament in Tamil. Printed at the Church Mission Press, for the Madras Auxiliary Bible Society. 8vo. 1836.

From W. H. Rylands, Secretary:—Prosperi Alpini Ægpti Historiæ Naturalis. 2 vols. 4to. Lugduni Batavorum.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Chrestomathie Démotique. Par Eugène Révillout. 4to. Paris.

Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap in der Thebanischen Nekropolis. &c. Herausgegeben von Johannes Dümichen. Part 1. Folio. Leipzig. 1884.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on December 2nd, 1884:-

Rev. W. I. F. Vashon Baker, M.A., The College, Marlborough.

Rev. S. M. Hamilton, M.A., D.D., New York, U.S.A.

Josiah Mullens, Sydney, New South Wales.

Mrs. E. O'Gorman, 39, Wilbury Road, West Brighton.

Rev. Thos. Richards, The Manse, Old Hill, near Dudley.

William S. Rolland, Cargen Lodge, Kensington Road, South Yarra, Melbourne, Victoria.

Rev. R. P. Thompson, Ranscomb Villas, Havant.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

Divinity School, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A.

A Paper was read by P. Le Page Renouf, "On some Religious Texts of the Early Egyptian Period preserved in Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum."

There are several well known cases in which Egyptian documents have a note appended to them, stating that the original of the foregoing composition was found, under circumstances more or less remarkable, in some building of very ancient date. Statements like this naturally give rise to the suspicion of pious fraud, and they are sometimes quoted for the purpose of discrediting the veracity of authorities on Egyptian history. It will, however, appear from the present paper that such statements are not necessarily untrustworthy.

There is in the British Museum a papyrus to which Dr. Birch alludes in an article which appeared in Dr. Lepsius' Zeitschrift in 1871 (p. 104). One portion of the religious texts contained in this papyrus is there said to have been found on a roll of leather in the library of Osiris, in the time of King Amenophis III, and another part is also said to have been found in the same library at Abydos in the reign of the same king, or in that of Thothmes III.

It is of course impossible to verify the fact of the discovery recorded in the rubrics, but we have fortunately the means of proving that such a discovery is not in any way unworthy of belief. The religious texts are certainly not forgeries of a later period; they are demonstrably more ancient than the times of either of the Egyptian kings mentioned in the rubrics, and are, in fact, identical with the ritual recently discovered in the pyramids of kings Unas, Pepi, and Teta.

The Malcolm Papyrus is not the only one in the British Museum which contains these primitive texts. There is another (Salt, 137-153) which contains the same chapters in the same order, and also the rubrics mentioning their discovery. There are, moreover, at least two other papyri in the same collection, which, although written at a very late period, undoubtedly contain texts from a Ritual, the antiquity of which is probably not inferior to that of the Book of the Dead.

The present paper gives an account of these papyri and of their contents, together with some remarks on the earliest mythology.

Dr. BIRCH described four fragments of Papyrus belonging of to the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, and allowed to be exhibited by the Secretary of the Science and Art Department.

The remarks of Dr. Birch will be published in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

A vote of thanks was awarded to the Secretary of the Science and Art Department for his kindness in allowing the papyri to be exhibited and published by the Society.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE read some notes on Egyptian Stelæ, principally of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

As Dr. Birch has shown, sepulchral tablets were used at all periods, and they were often deposited inside the sepulchres, although on certain papyri they are represented outside the doors of the tombs, and often accompanied by the small obelisk which adorned the sepulchres. Sepulchral tablets have great value; for although the formula is in many cases the same, yet from them we may glean facts relating to the social life of the Egyptian, notices of posts of honour and dignities among the Egyptians, and at times, historical and political notices of the greatest importance. This is my apology for the few notes and the translations of the Egyptian sepulchral tablets which I have, and which I shall now proceed to describe. The tablets are five in number; four belong to the XVIIIth dynasty, and one to the XIXth, that is to say to the period when the deceased is represented in adoration to deities of the nether world, when the figures are shown wearing the cone, and when the form ka appears in the dedication. Two of the tablets were erected in honour of a man called Next-Ames; one is certainly dated in the fourth year of the reign of king Ai, and on the other the date is wanting. It will be remembered that king Ai was originally fan-bearer, royal scribe, and master of the horse to the heretic king xuenaten. According to Brugsch, he married Tii, the nurse of this monarch, and was a priest in the temple of the god Amen, of whom he was a devout worshipper. After he was raised to the throne, he honoured these priests in a very distinguished manner. He carried on wars in the north and south, gaining many

Pa-ur, the prince of Cush, sent to Ai many splendid victories. valuable presents as a token of his homage, but apparently the Egyptian and Ethiopian princes were on very good terms, for on the walls of the rock grottoes of Shatain, Ai is represented with Pa-ur by his side praying to various gods. The "godly father" Ai prepared for himself a tomb in the Biban-el-Molouk, to the west of Thebes, in the mountains. This, as well as his sarcophagus, have been preserved until this day, although his name and features have been erased therefrom. But to return to Next-Ames. The copy of one of the stelæ of this personage is given by Prisse in his "Monuments,"* and that of the other by Lepsius in the "Denkmäler." + Each tablet is rounded at the top, and in a semicircular space at the top is represented two figures of Anubis. They face each other; over each is an utat, and the words ap uat, or "opener of the roads." The opening lines of each tablet are occupied by the titles of king Ai, and among them are "destroyer of the Asiatics," and "chief of Then follow prayers asking for the deceased the nine bows." a series of material comforts, among others that his limbs may be solid, that his soul may alight upon the branches of the trees which the deceased had planted, that he might refresh himself beneath his sycamore trees, that he might have his mouth given him wherewith to speak like the followers of Horus; and lastly, that he might receive his slices from the joint upon the table of the great god, and that cakes might be brought to him, together with jugs of beer.

Next-Ames next proceeds to record his good deeds upon earth. He says: "I have done the behests of men and the will of the gods, wherefore I have given bread to the hungry, and have satisfied the indigent. My mouth hath not spoken insolently against my superior officers. There hath been no haughtiness in my step, but I have walked measuredly." To walk with a light undignified gait appears to have been regarded with dislike by Eastern nations, and it will be remembered that Isaiah blamed the daughters of Zion for their exaggerated gait, saying, "they walk along tripping with a tripping gait." (Is. iii, 16, הַלְבָּנֶר הַלַבְּנֶר הַלֵּבֶר.)

Next-Ames then says: "I have performed the law beloved by the king. I understand his commands; I gave my mind without

^{*} Plate 17; see Sharpe, "Egypt. Inscrip.," p. 106.

[†] Cf. iii, 114 i; and Brugsch, "Deutsche Revue," vii, p. 73.

the least hesitation to what he said; I understood the things about which I should keep silence;" and in return for the zeal and discreetness of Next-Ames, Ai made him councillor. The last lines of the tablet are most interesting. They read: "O ye living upon earth, living for eternity, enduring for ever. O ye priests and ministrants of Osiris, and everyone learned in divine tradition. When ye enter my sepulchre and pass through it, utter ye your prayers by the side of my tablet, and proclaim ye my name without cessation in the presence of the lords of the law. may your gods favour you, and may ye after a god old age transfer your dignities to your children, always provided that ye say: 'May Osiris grant a royal oblation to Next-Ames, lord of fidelity, superintendent of works in the temple of Ai, prince and first prophet of Ames and Isis. May his memorial abide in the seat of eternity."

The next stele to which I would call attention is that of Thothmes, the president of the gatekeepers of Memphis. It is preserved in the British Museum, and bears the number 155. The top is rounded the figures are coloured red, the background of the stele is black, and the hieroglyphics are blue. Dr. Birch considers it to belong to the XVIIIth dynasty. The scene at the top of the tablet represents adorations to Osiris, who is seated on a throne facing to the right, wearing the *atf* crown In his left hand is the symbol of power, and in his right a whip. Behind him stands Isis, and before Osiris is a table laden with sacrificial offerings. The deceased Thothmes is shown before the altar, together with his sister and brother. From this inscription we learn the names of three pylons or gates of They were Hapt-nebes, Aau-her-nebes, and Uben-Ramaa-es, that is, "she who conceals her lord;" "she whose two arms are towards her lord;" and "the sun-god rises to see her." The Egyptians gave names to the most important doors and gates of their cities and temples; for example, see "Mariette Abydos," Vol. I, p. 13, where the names of the doors of a series of rooms are given. A like custom prevailed among other nations. A small cylinder of Neriglissar gives the names of the four gates of the temple Zida; and in the Acts of the Apostles we are told that the lame man was laid at the gate of the temple called Beautiful.

In the next stele we have more of the pictorial element and a shorter inscription. It is divided into three parts. In the first sits

Osiris holding two sceptres and a whip. Behind him stands Isis, and above her head is written, "Isis, divine mother, avenging her brother, lady of the two earths." Nepthys, "empress of the road of the west," is standing by her side. Before Osiris is a table laden with fruits and cakes, at which stands Rema, together with his sister Tapu. The daughter of the deceased and Nahi, his grand-daughter, are also represented.

In the second division of the tablet Rema and his sister are represented seated upon chairs; his son, Apii or Apepi, offers to him fire, water, and the usual offerings. Above the son is written, "Oblation of all good and pure things to the ka of Rema, the chief of the unguent room, by his son Apii, or Apepi, the chief of those who listen to complaints." Behind the sun stand Rames, six females, and the son of the deceased, Amen Ua. In the right hand lower corner Rema is represented kneeling in adoration, with both hands raised. The inscription is really a hymn to Osiris, and all that we learn about the deceased personally is, that he was "president of the unguent preparations of the double white house of the lord of the two earths," and also "chief of the royal His son was the "chief of those who listen wig of the good god." to complaints."

And this brings us to the last stele. It is preserved in the Louvre, and was erected in honour of Ames-mes, otherwise called Kanre, or the Carian. Kanre was the son of Kanreneria and Anenit. His mother Anenit was sistrum-bearer of Isis. His official positions were that of "Royal scribe, member of the privy council, and apparently he had the charge of the accounts of the chapel. He was also computer of the labours performed there, and was superintendent of the work of the priestesses of Neith.

Mr. Budge submitted translations of the various texts given on these monuments. In doing so he added explanations, &c., at the same time calling attention to the most noteworthy points of interest.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

The following Descriptions have been received from Professor Sayce:—

GREEK OSTRAKA FROM ERMENT AND KARNAK.

I will follow up the communications of Dr. Birch and Dr. Wiedemann on Greek Ostraka from Egypt, by giving the readings of some which I collected at Thebes in the winters of 1881 and 1883. In 1881 the natives were employed in excavating the ruins of an old Koptic village on the north side of the temple of Karnak, for the sake of the manure contained in the dust of its buildings. These, like all other human habitations in Egypt, were constructed of bricks dried in the sun. The bricks, it turned out, had been hardened with the help of inscribed potsherds, which came to light as soon as the bricks themselves crumbled into dust. The potsherds are partly in Greek, partly in Demotic, while there are a few in a handwriting which I cannot read, and they must have all come from some record chamber where they had been deposited in regular order. At all events, the ostraka found in particular houses or particular parts of the old village always belonged to a particular group or series. Dr. Wiedemann and myself secured a considerable number of the ostraka from the boys of the place; Mr. Greville Chester subsequently procured a good many more, which are now in the British Museum. Between my two visits to Thebes I found that the greater part of the village had been dug up by the fellahin, and that consequently there was a large amount of ostraka in the hands of the dealers at Karnak, who had discovered that European visitors set a value upon them.

The Karnak ostraka, which are written in Greek, are exceedingly difficult to read, and no attempt to do so has hitherto been made. The difficulties presented by the execrable handwriting of most of them are increased by a fact which Dr. Wiedemann and I believed we had ascertained, that some of the texts, though written in Greek characters, are in a foreign language, presumably that of the Blemmyes, while in others foreign words are mixed with Greek words. It must be confessed, however, that I came across none of these non-Greek texts last winter, while I bought one or two ostraka which were written so legibly as to furnish a key to the reading of the rest.

But before I proceed to give the texts of those of my Karnak potsherds which I have succeeded in deciphering, I must notice some ostraka from Erment, several of which were procured last winter by Mr. Strachan-Davidson, and two or three by myself. These are all written in large capitals, and are therefore unusually easy to read. I give the texts without accents, like Dr. Birch and Dr. Wiedemann:—

Ερμοδωρος οξιληφ
ως το δέλος των κα
σοποιων L λε
κομου χαιριν απε
χω παρα σου το γι
νομενον τέλος
απο θωθ ηως
μεσορη του
αυτου ητυς.

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers for the 35th year, sends greeting to Komos. I receive from you the tax due from the month Thoth to the month Mesori of the same year."

"The 35th year" seems to indicate the reign of Augustus. Κασοποίων must be a compound of κάσας, "a skin" or "saddle" for sitting upon (Xen., Kyrop. viii, 3, 6). The spellings δέλος, χαίριν, ήως, and ήτυς, also found in other Egypto-Greek texts, must be noticed, as well as the contraction οξιληφως for ὁ ἐξειληφώς.

Ερμοδωρος ο εξειληφως
το τελος των κασσοποιω(ν)
και γναφαλλογων ωρωι
χαιρειν εχω παρα σου το
γινομενον τελος του
επειφ(ι) και μεσορη του λε L
Τβ(?)λε μεορη κα

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers and wool-pickers, sends greeting to Hôros. I receive from you the tax due for Epeiphi and Mesori of the 35th year...(dated) the 21st of Me(s)ori."

Γναφαλλόγων is a compound of κνάφαλλον, "wool" or "flock," used for stuffing cushions, the plant from which the wool was obtained being called γναφάλιον by Dioskoridês (iii, 132).

Ερμοδωρος ο εξείληφως
το τελος των κασσοποιων και
γναφαλλογων εις το α L
πετεαργηρει χαιρείν
εχω παρα σου το τελος
μεχειρ και φαμενωθ και
φαρμουθι μά Γ

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers and wool-pickers for the first year, sends greeting to Peteargêris. I receive from you the tax for the months of Mekheir, Phamenoth, and Pharmuthi, 41 drachmas the first year."

 Γ is intended for \vdash , not for ylyvera, which it usually denotes.

Ερμοδωρος ο εξειληφως
το τελος των κασσοποιων
και γναφολλολογων
εις το α L πετεαργηρει
χαιρειν εχω παρα σου
το γεινομενον σοι
τελος του χοιαχ.

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers and wool-pickers for the first year, sends greeting to Peteargêris. I receive from you the tax due from you for Khoiak."

The spelling γναφολλολόγων should be noticed.

Ερμοδωρος ο εξ(ειληφως το τε)
λος των κασοπ(οιων του)
κοπτιτου εις L α σ(ορου χαιρειν)
εχω παρα σου εις (τον....λογον)
χαλκου 2 σ.

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers of the nome of Koptos for one year, sends greeting to Soros. I receive from you on account of 200 quarter-obols of bronze."

We learn from this text that Koptos or Koft was the head-quarters of the saddle-makers. The ostrakon is unfortunately broken.

6. Ερμοδώρος
βιτεαι χαιριν
εχω παρα σου
εις τον Ορου
του Υουσου
λογον χαλκου
L 2 ερρωσο
L λ α
παχων κ.

"Hermodôros sends greeting to Biteas. I receive from you on account of Horos, the son of Vousos, a quarter-obol of bronze. Farewell. The 31st year, the 20th of Pakhons."

Το θελος των κασοποιών του κοπτιτου εις L α σ ορου χαιριν απεχω πα ρα σου το γινομενον τελος απο παυνι ηως μεσορη τρια και (? δεκα).

"Hermodôros, who has received the tax of the saddle-makers of the Koptite nome for one year, sends greeting to Soros. I receive from you the tax due from Payni to Mesori (1)3 (quarter-obols)."

 Ερμοδωρος Αρκωι χαιρειν απέχω παρα σου το εν(νεα)δικου της γης (τέλος?) κου δεν σοι ενκαλω La (?) παχω.

"Hermodôros sends greeting to Arkos. I receive from you the tax on the ninth part of the produce of the land, and hold you indebted for nothing more. The first (?) year, the first day of Pakhons."

There is space for three letters in εν...δικον, and the traces that remain of the first look like ν. The word is evidently ἐννεαδικόν.

Padavos
 Εραυτι
 χαιρεν
 ο φινις
 εις το τελος
 εως μεσορη
 ā....

"Rhadanos sends greeting to Erautis. The end of the tax until the first of Mesori..." • In the first of Mesori... Between this word and els is a line which has been erased.

10. Ραδανος ο εξιλη φως την των κασσυ ποιων ονην εις το L λ δ Εραυτει καιρειν εχω το δε λος απο θωυτ εως μεσωρη α του προιστα(μ)ε νου L λ δ εαω και το του βοιοου τελος κατα το με ωσσους.

"Rhadanos, who has received the contract for farming the taxes of the saddle-makers for the 34th year, sends greeting to Erautis. I have the tax from Thoth to the first of Mesori of the current 34th year. I also allow a diminution of the tax upon cattle according to the rate of reduction."

'Ονήν is for ἀνήν, "a contract for the farming of taxes" (see Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, s.v.), and μεώσσους for μειώσους. Similarly βοιοσυ stands for βοίσυ οτ βοιέου. In προισταμένου, τ has been written by mistake for μ and the τ is misformed.

This completes the collection from Erment, and I now pass on to the Karnak ostraka. I shall begin with a potsherd purchased at Karnak by Sir William Gregory, and given by him to me. It is written in a very legible hand, but the lower part of it is unfortunately destroyed.

"For Hêraklianos, 37 coins (?) from the newly-planted ground, and 5 coins (?) from the estate of Pi-Keraï, 3 (measures) of wine (and) 2 of vinegar, 5 in all for filling the cup. I have also bought a double jar for 8 triobola, and have given a double jar to Oriôn, the scribe of Trophonios I"

This ostrakon is a very interesting one. It gives us the origin of the modern name of Karnak, which has evidently been formed from Pi-Keraï, i.e., Keraï with the article prefixed. It indicates, moreover, that whole jars were bought and purposely broken in order to provide writing materials for the officials. What is meant by "a double jar" I do not know; the word διπλοκεράμιον is a new one. I am equally ignorant as to what is meant by κολ, and can only conjecture that it is intended for κολλύβους. Νεφυτιον is of course for νεοφυτείον, οι for διπλοκεράμιον, and γραμμα^τ for γραμματεῖ, "the scribe." Revillout (Revue Egytologique, ii, p. 87) has shown that γ or ζ denoted the half-drachma of silver, or piece of 3 obols equivalent to 60 obols of bronze.

I shall now take a series signed by a certain Ptolemy, "collector of the corn-tax," who lived in the reign of Tiberius. The handwriting is difficult to read.

"Ptolemy the son of Asklas, the collector of the corn-tax, sends greeting to Psanolôs, the son of Pneês. I receive from you the remainder of the corn-tax for the 4th year. (Signed) Ptolemy."

The full form of the genitive of the name of Ptolemy's father appears on the next ostrakon. Πρα^κ κα^λ stands for πράκτωρ καλαμικοῦ or καλάμων. Κάλαμος was equivalent to the Latin tessera, "the token by which corn was obtained," and Liddell and Scott are wrong in saying that this meaning did not belong to it until the fourth century; and καλαμηφορέω signified "to bring a corn-token in order to get corn upon it." A fragmentary ostrakon dated in the 10th year of Domitian, and belonging to Dr. Wiedemann, contains the word καλάμη written in full. Προλυ/ is written in full προλυπόν, i.e., προλοιπὸν, on the next ostrakon. The year will be the 4th of Tiberius.

13. Πτολεμαιος Ασκλατος Πσουσπατο Κασοτις χαιρειν απεχω παρα σου το προλυπον του καλ του L κα Τιβεριου σεβαστου καισαρος κα Πτολεμαιος.

"Ptolemy the son of Asklas sends greeting to Psuspato son of I receive from you the remainder of the corn-tax for the 21st year of Tiberius Augustus Cæsar. (Signed) Ptolemy."

> 14. Πτολεμαιος Ασκλας Παμμων Παμ γ απεχω παρα σου το προλυπον του καλ του γ L Τιβεριου Κλαυ καισαρος σεβαστου γ Πτολεμαιος.

"Ptolemy the son of Asklas sends greeting to Pammônios the son of Pammônios. I receive from you the remainder of the corn-tax for the 3rd year of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus. (Signed) Ptolemy."

This is the earliest dated ostrakon I have yet met with.

With this my series of the Ptolemy ostraka ends. I now go on to another, written in a very bad hand, which presents us with a word written with a contraction which has not been met with before, I believe, in this class of documents.

> Παπωμι' πρακα⁻αρη χ L Πικοτ λιῶ δρχ ⊢ $\epsilon\sigma\chi$ 0 $\delta\iota\pi\lambda$ 0 ν 5 $\rho\nu$ 7 $\delta\nu$ 0 $\rightarrow \rho\nu$ 7 β -L ε Αντωνινου καισαρος του κυριου τυβι \vec{i} δ πα $\vec{\rho}$ η / \vec{l} απ(?) . . .

"Papômis, collector of money, sends greeting to Pikôs the linen-The drachmas I received doubly, two half-drachmas as a pledge for two drachmas. The 5th year of Antoninus Cæsar the lord, the 14th day of Tybi. I received in all 8"

Πράκτωρ ἀργυρικῆς is a title already well-known from the ostraka of Elephantinê. Pikôs is a name met with elsewhere on the Karnak potsherds; there was a tax-collector of the same name in the reign of Antonine. Λω. stands for λινουργώ; Dr. Birch has already made us acquainted with the linen-draper's tax. Eoxo is of course foxor, and ρυ. must represent ρύσιον or ρύσια "a pledge."

> 16. Φαιφις Χ(?)εσουι Πεσεχω Ψενεν^ω χ^L απεχ^ω τ οβολτου θ L Νερωνος του κυριου $\epsilon \pi / \bar{i} \zeta$

"Phæphis son of Khesos (?) to Pesekh son of Psenenôn sends I receive the obols for the 9th year of Nero the lord. (Dated) the 17th day of Epeiphi."

Another ostrakon, of which the beginning is lost, is dated in "the 3rd year of Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus Imperator ('Αντοκράτορος), the 15th day of Athyr."

διαγ └ Πεσεχ^ω Πεκ(?)ω(?)^υ
 ῦ χ^ω δραμα š εικοσι
 └ α αυ(τοκρατο)ρος * Ουεσπασιανου
 του κυριου του καισαρ
 Δαμων (?)

"Pesekh the son of Pekons (?) acquits for the workmen's tax twenty drachmas: the 1st year of the Emperor Vespasian the lord, the Cæsar. (Signed) Damôn (?)."

Pesekh is perhaps the same as the Pesekh mentioned in the last text. An ostrakon translated by Dr. Birch, which belongs to the 14th year of Nero, states that the workmen's tax amounted to 20 drachmas of silver.

The following ostrakon is written in a large but peculiar hand:—

18. Δαμων Βακχιου Διδυμου Αφροδισ... χαιρειν απεχω παρα σου οινου κεραμια δεκα εξ ων σοι εδωκα συν τω επισακτω του ιθ του και α L κουθεν σοι ενκαλω περι των προγεγραμμενων οινου κεραμιων δεκα εξαγραψεν υπερ αυτου αρκια σαρκιου αξ) ωα εα δια το οραδ...ερο(?)υ α...εγραψεν Δαμων ευ κη...ε

"Damôn son of Bakkhios Didymos to Aphrodisios sends greeting. I receive from you ten jars of wine of which I gave you along with the seal of the 19th and 1st years (?), and I hold you indebted no further for the ten jars of wine already written about. He registered on his own behalf a sufficient quantity of flesh-meat fittingly. Leave alone the eggs on account of the (Signed). Damôn: he has attended to (?) the former orders."

The two last lines are in a different handwriting to the rest. επισάκτφ must be the plug with which the jars were closed and sealed, and 1 imagine that εθτου stands for εννεακαιδεκάτου. Δέκα εξ

^{*} Written αυκωρος, or perhaps αυκτορος. The handwriting of this ostrakon is exceedingly bad.

may possibly mean 16, and I suppose $a\xi$) to be $d\xi loss$. I cannot read part of the last line but two, nor the word which follows $\epsilon \delta$.

Towards the end of the reign of Tiberius a certain Pikôs appears as attaching his name to receipts. I have three ostraka with his signature, which are as follows:—

διεγρ □ Πετεμ^ν Παμ(?)αρ(?)θ υ' φ
ιερ^ν ι θ □ ∫- τρις γεγρ οβλ ∫- γ/κπ γεγραφ^α τ(ου) κ □ κ Τιβεριου
καισαρος σεβαστου χοιαχ
ῖς γεγρ Π^κ.

"Petemenôn the son of Pamarth, (?) on behalf of Phieras, has acquitted (the tax) for the 19th year. I have registered 3 obols. I have registered the retailers' tax (?) for the 20th year of Tiberius Cæsar Augustus. The 16th day of Khoiak. I, Pikôs, have signed."

I have no idea what $\kappa\pi$ can represent, unless it be a tax upon retailers ($\kappa\acute{a}\pi\eta\lambda\omega$) or "gardens" ($\kappa\acute{\eta}\pi\omega$). The handwriting both of this and the following ostrakon is bad. See No. 21, from which it would appear that the name of the father ought to be read Pamênth.

 διεγ L Πετεμεν^ω Παμ(?)αρ(?)θ υ' Φιεραυ α L γεγρ οβολ η L β Γαιου Καισαρος Γερμανικου χοιαχ ῑε

"Petemenôn the son of Pamarth, (?) on behalf of Phieras, has acquitted (the tax) for the 1st year. I have registered 8 obols. The second year of Caius Cæsar Germanicus, the 15th day of Khoiak. (Signed) Pikôs."

It is interesting to find the title of Germanicus here given to Caligula.

A third ostrakon, signed Pikôs, is little more than a repetition of the first (No. 19).

21. διεγρ L Πετεμ $^{\omega}$ Παμην $^{\gamma}$ v^{γ} φιε L ιθ L γεγρ ο $^{\beta}$ L C L κ Τιβεριου καισαρος σεβαστου χοιαχ σεβαστ ιε γεγρ $^{\Pi}$ K

"Petemenôn the son of Pamênth, on behalf of Phieras, has acquitted (the tax) for the 19th year. I have registered so many obols. The 20th year of Tiberius Cæsar Augustus; the 15th day of Khoiak Augustus. I Pikôs have signed."

I know of no other instance in which the title of August is attached to the name of the month Khoiak. In the time of Julius Cæsar Khoiak did not begin until the 27th of November.

I may add here an ostrakon belonging to the 5th year of Tiberius, and written on behalf of the Phieras mentioned above (Nos. 19, 20, 21), which is unfortunately broken and otherwise injured so that only a portion of it can be read:

22. . . . ταπεης Καμη L \hat{v} Φι L δ L γ γ . . β $^{\delta}$ ειτ L ε Τιβεριου . . . Κλαυδιου καισαρος σεβαστου

...... "tapeês son of Kamêtis, on behalf of Phieras, has acquitted the 5th year of Tiberius (Nero) Claudius Cæsar Augustus".....

The following is written in large clear capitals, many of the letters being formed like those of the Coptic alphabet.

Ουλουζίος Πεταργηρι
 Φτωμινίος χ απέχω πα^ρ
 σου αχουρου γωμος
 ενως του ιε L Δμιτιανου
 του κουριου

"Uluzios to Petargêris the son of Phtôminis, sends greeting. I receive from you the loads of bran of last year. The 15th year of Domitian the lord."

Αχουρου γωμος ενως evidently stands for αχύρου γόμους ενους. After the name of D(0)mitian a τοῦ has been written and subsequently erased.

Another ostrakon in my possession, dated in the 15th year of Domitian, is written by a certain Patomraunos.

διέγρ □ Πατομραυνος
 Τεχ^ω Λιεχθαλιουφιος υ'
 λα □ χ □ /ε ∫ δεκα κεαργυριου
 κ(?) α □ ι ε Δμου καισαρος του κυριου
 φαρμουθι λγ εγρα^α.

"Patomraunos son of Techôs of Liekhthaliouph (or Nekhthanouph), has acquitted for the poll-tax and the workmen's tax 10 drachmas (?) of silver . . . The 15th year of Domitian Cæsar the lord, the 33rd day of Pharmuthi I registered (it)."

I do not understand the numerals in this text, which are however quite plain.

I now come to an ostrakon which introduces us to a new title.

25. Μετρ $-\theta \eta \bar{s}$ κμ' γενυ(?) ιβL Τραιανου του κυριου εφει $\bar{\kappa \eta}$ ον 0 Πετεχ $^{\omega}$ χαταβου πυρου δυο $/t\beta$

"Metrês the treasurer, the state-collector (?) of the 12th year of Trajan the lord, the 28th day of E(pei)phi, in the name of Petekhons, the son of Khatabos, two measures of wheat...."

Traces of the symbol denoting a quarter-obol remain at the end. Θης is of course θησαυροφύλαξ, or perhaps θησαυριστής, and κμ. is probably to be explained by the καλαμος mentioned above (No. 12). At any rate its place is taken on other ostraka by μισ., i.e., μισθωτής or "collector." The last letter of γενυ. may not be intended for υ, but for a mark of contraction. In Byzantine times δ γενικός was "the treasurer," and possibly it is γενικός which we have to read here.

I have another ostrakon belonging to Metrês or Metris which does not contain an emperor's name. It runs thus:—

25a. $L.\bar{\eta}$ επειφι $\bar{i}\bar{\delta}$ Μετρ' θ' διο^κ καστο(?)τοπος Ψενωνις ... Αμητις Ψ(?)εμινιος t δ

"The 8th year, the 14th day of Epeiphi, Metrês the treasurer, the Procurator being Psenônis; the being Amêtis Ps (?) eminios; 4 tetrobols."

 $\delta \iota o^{\kappa}$ is of course $\delta \iota o \iota \kappa \eta \tau \dot{\gamma} s$, and the next word may be either a proper name or be compounded with $\tau \dot{o} \pi o s$. It is unfortunate that the writing is partly obliterated.

26. Μεθης κὰ γεν ιδ/ του καισαρος του κυριου επειφι ... υ' χ ι ον Ταμεπρωνος Ψεμεν πυρους ημισυ | t f

"Methês the state-collector (?), of the 14th year of the Cæsar the lord; the . . day of Epeiphi, for the workmen's tax; in the name of Tameprôn the son of Psemenôn, half a measure of wheat"

I cannot explain the symbols which come at the end of the text, but the last denotes a quarter obol. Methês can hardly be the same as Metrês, since the two names are very distinctly spelt, but "the Cæsar" of this ostrakon is no doubt Trajan.

Ασκαυς κρ επτ θης και
Πεκυσι' ονν™ Φθουμι/
εσ^χ το κα του θ \$....
νου Καιου Εναριους
σεβασ επφα ιδ.

"Askaus.... the treasurer and Pekysis in the name of Phthumis, have received (ἔσχομεν) the corn-tax of the 9th year of ... nos Caius Enariês Augustus. The 14th day of Epeiphi."

I have no conception as to what the first title of Askaus may mean, though επτ must be έπτὰ or some compound of the latter. Neither can I find any emperor whose name was Enaries. Unfortunately the first name of the Augustus is hopelessly gone. Of course over is for δυόματι.

ετους λε παυνι ιᾶ χ⁻
 εις Γενδιωδυη ιᾶ Ερμο³
 λε L Ηρακλειδης Ερμου δε(ι)
 κροτων³ δυ⁹ / κρ⁹ β
 Ασκα³.

"The 35th year, the 11th day of Payni, 4 obols to Gendiôdyês 15 Hermos (pays). The 35th year Hêrakleidês, son of Hermês owes for the castor-oil tax 2 obols. (Signed) Askaus."

The "castor-oil" tax is new to us, and must have been levied on the natives of Nubia, where the castor-oil plant grows. The "35th" year is a difficulty; if it refers to the reign of a Roman emperor it can only be Augustus. Augustus, however, did not bear the names of Caius Enariês, as did the emperor under whom Askaus lived according to the preceding ostrakon. We may, therefore, perhaps, see in the latter one of the usurpers who governed the Thebaid while it was independent of Roman rule in the 3rd century A.D. Dr. Wiedemann has several ostraka dated in years exceeding 30.

ετους α/ επειφι γ
 ζ - εις την επι ψ κ ζ / π
 του ā L Ασυχιου
 βουτυρου = εικοσι (και δυο)
 ημισυ t κ β / Πετ^ε Σιτολ.

"The first year, the 3rd day of Epeiphi, 4 obols for the of the 1st year of Asykhios ... for butter $22\frac{1}{2}$ obols. (Signed) Petemôn, the son of Sitol.

Here, again, we have a new name after which the year is dated. I have no idea what ψ stands for.

ετους δ μεσορη ε̄ Καμ' θης
 Αμιτο ε τη κ̄ δ L Πεπεκ...
 Ψευοδριος κ ∫ ·/ ¿- t φ(?)μ(?)ιλι...

"The 4th year, the 5th day of Mesori, Kamêtis, the treasurer, the son of Amitos, for the corn-tax in the 4th year of Pepek...
Pseuodris 20 obols"

Here we have another new name, after which the year is dated. E $\tau \eta \ \bar{\kappa}$ must mean $\hat{\epsilon} \pi \hat{l} \ \tau \hat{\eta} \ \kappa \alpha \lambda \alpha \mu \rho \gamma \rho \alpha \phi \hat{l} q$.

31. ετους ι μσορης ιε $\pi a \rho^{\alpha}$ Πετεχωσι^L Ευτυχης δυω δεκα $/-\delta \bar{\rho}$,

"The 10th year, the 15th day of Mesori, from Petekhôsis Eutukhês (has received) twelve drachmas,

I will now give the texts of two of my ostraka which are interesting as bearing the names of Severus Pertinax and Pescennius Niger.

32. $\Lambda \nu \kappa_j^{-} \kappa_k^{-} \gamma \epsilon \nu_j^{-} \beta L$ $\Lambda o \nu \kappa \iota o \nu \Sigma \epsilon \pi \tau \iota \mu \iota o \nu$ $\Sigma \epsilon o \nu \eta \rho o \nu \Pi \epsilon \rho \tau \iota \nu a \kappa o s$ $\sigma \epsilon \beta a \sigma \tau o \nu \phi a o { \kappa \atop \kappa} \eta \tau o \nu$ $\gamma \rho \nu^{\prime} o \nu o O \sigma \dots$

"Lykias, the state corn-tax collector (?), the 3rd year of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus 3 as a pledge in the name of Op. "

The last line and a half is destroyed. In the first line β is written like κ , but Severus did not reign 20 years.

Μεθης μισ) γεν α Ταιου Πεσκεννινου
Νιγερος καισαρος του κυριου επειφ ι υ' χρουο
βηγμωρου δι εννεα πυρου μ, . . .

"Methês, the collector for the state (?), in the 1st year of Caius Pescennius Niger Cæsar the lord, the 10th day of Epeiphi, for the workmen's tax, in the name of Bêgmôros, on account of 9 measures of wheat "

There is a 4th line which consists wholly of numerals and symbols the signification of which is unknown to me.

"Pammônios the son of Ammônios, collector of the workmen's tax (?), from the 30th day of Phamenôth, receives 3 argentei... 11 argentei on the 1st of Pharmouthi he receives, the 8th year, the 16th year, the 20th year, the 28th year. There are due 19 drachmas."

λ and δ stand for λαμβάνει and δεῖ, while α clearly represents ἀπδ and $\bar{α} ἀργύρια$. κε, may be intended for χειρωναξία. The first word of the third line has been miswritten and a correction made over it, so that it is impossible now to make out what it exactly is.

I will leave the rest of my ostraka of this class, which are mostly dated in the reigns of Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Hadrian, and Antoninus, for another communication, and pass to a wholly different set of texts. These are lists of payments received from, or paid to, various persons, whose names frequently recur in them. Unfortunately the potsherds which furnish us with the lists are usually in a very mutilated condition.

I will begin with one in Dr. Wiedemann's possession, the accuracy of my transcription of which, however, I will not guarantee.

```
Μεσορις ιζ
35.
      λογος σεππετυμεπωφιο αλαματιοι ή
     / \ ε = Πατουωμτις Αραμ. β / ζ
     / Νυσπχω . . . υιος
                                      5/B
     | Περμαμις
                                      5==
     / ΨενΦθους πρ
                                      SBC
      \Phi a \nu \pi / \dots
                                      5 7. KG
      Ψενπ/ υι' Πω . .
                                      SIB
     / Περμαμις
                                      <u>-</u> د ک
     | Ψενπζ. υι' Αβω
                                      S x(?) 1
     / Κριθυς (?).
                                      Snc
     / Οζοβσπος (?)
                                      Sar
     / Yevws (?) †
                                      S | σ' κ6
     | Περμαμις
```

^{* /} Ωρος Πατ.

^{† ?} **¥**evaws.

The following are in my own collection:-

```
36. κθ μερσι<sup>0</sup> λογου τ<sup>0</sup> ...

Ωρος Ουπυματος ...

Ηρακλης Τογοης ...

Ηρακλης Ειπυμετος ...

Σεκη Περμαμι<sup>0</sup> Ψεν ...

Θησπευς Ισιος κο<sup>5</sup> ...

Φαμινις Αωγος κο<sup>5</sup> ...

Φθουμης Αποσυαυσι<sup>α</sup> κο<sup>5</sup>

Σεκης Περμαμι<sup>0</sup> κο<sup>5</sup> ...
```

The first line—"the 29th assessement of the poll-tax"—shows what was the object of the list. It is in a different handwriting from the rest of the text. The mention of the $\theta\eta\sigma\pi\epsilon\nu$ I σ is curious. What is meant by κ I do not know. It may be β i.e., β o η θ is, "assisting," but the first letter is formed exactly like the κ in the proper names. The right side of the ostrakon is broken. Can κ os represent κ oldubit σ is a money-changer?" In the next ostrakon it interchanges with σ is σ is σ a corn-dealer."

```
37. eπι ιζιθ ...
        // Ψεντφούς πρέσ\beta t a \lor , \bar{\kappa} Ψεναω t \bar{\eta}
          / Ψεντφους νεο t\bar{\eta} κα Ψεντφους \pi\rho t\bar{\eta} \mu
         \int Περμαμις t^- \bar{\eta}. _{11} Ψεντφ νεο t\bar{o} \sqcup \eta _{11} Περμαμι t \bar{\tau} \eta \bar{\jmath}
          / Σεκης Πικωτο' t = \eta_{f} 11 Σεκης t = \bar{\eta}
             \Omegaρος Παταπη t^-α _{11} \Omegaρ ^{\circ} Παταπητ t^-δ )
             Ποτυμενω νεο t = \bar{\eta} δ
             Ψεναω κο t^-\bar{\eta} \Pi Ψεν\bar{a} σι· t^-\bar{\eta}.
             \vec{\kappa} 11 Yevt \phious \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma t^{-}a
         Ψεντφους νεο
                                       t ñ
                                       t∟ a iô
          / Περμαμις
         / Sekns
                                       t^-. \bar{\eta}.
         / \Omega \rho o \Omega = \Pi a \tau a \pi \eta \tau^* t^- a)—
```

This list is intended to be in two columns, the names being repeated thrice, with the exception of "Potymenôn the younger," who appears only in the first series. Before the second mention of $\Phi_{ev\acute{a}\omega\nu}$ $\vec{\kappa}$ is prefixed, in order to show that the "20th" assessment-list is being continued. Hôros paid first $1\frac{1}{2}$ drachmas, then I drachma 4 obols, and lastly I drachma and half an obol, 6 being the symbol for the half-obol (one-twelfth of a silver drachma).

38. The beginning and end of this ostrakon are broken off.

```
/ Σεκης Πικωτο' υ'
                       to 8/.
 / Ωρος Παταπητος
                       t 02
  Ψεναμουνις
                       tra
 / τη Ψενφθους πρ
                       toaF
 / Ψενφθους ν
                       th
                       tro
// Περμαμις
/ Σεκης Πικωτο' υ'
                       t6 + ..
/ Ωρος Παταπητος
                       t 0)
/ Ψεναμουνις υιος
                       tyle
ιδ Ωρος Παταπητος
                       to a [
/ Σεκης Πικωτιο'
                       toa8
// Περμαμις
                       / Ψενφθους ν
```

I do not know what is meant by the small o after the symbol of a drachma: Γ is γίγνεται. Of course ν̄ means νεώτερος.

30. A small fragment:-

```
Περ(μαμις) . . . .
Ψενφ(θους πρ.) . . .
Ψενφθους (νεο·) . . .
Πετεμενωφις . . . .
κζ Ωρος Παταπητος . . .
Ψευτοζους πρεσβ . . .
Σεκης Ψεαζ . . . .
Περμαμις Ψ . . . .
```

40. Another fragment:-

```
Ω(ρος) . . . . .
                                   ιι κθ Ψεντφους πρ . .
                                         Περμαμις
                                         Σεκης Πικωτ υ'
                                                                t5/0
..... to a b
                                         Ωρος Παταπητ'
                                                                tθ
                                         Ψενα υιος
                                                                ナラト. 「
. . . . . . . . . . . . .
                                   11 \( \bar{\chi} \) \( \Per \) \( \nu \chi' \)
                                                                tav'
..... + v' t > -
                                         \Psi \epsilon \nu \tau \cdot / \cdot \pi \rho(?)
                                                                151
\dots \dots x t o)
..... ros vios t 1 + 0 1
                                         Περμαμις
                                                                t 7 11
(Ψεν τ) ·/· πρ'
                        t-KS
                                         Σεκης
                                                                t /-
(\Psi \epsilon \nu) \tau \cdot / \cdot \nu \epsilon^{\omega}
                       t^{-}4
                                          Ωρος Παταπ(ητος)...
                       t^{-}a/\epsilon
                                          Ψεν , . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
(Π)ερμαμις
                                   26
```

```
41. 

| Παμων θ Παχμ . . . .
| Απολλως Πατ . . . .
| Φθουμινις και Πα . . .
| Φθουμωνθης . . . . .
| Αβως Πειλ(?)υσ(?)ιος και . . .
| Αβασκαν<sup>τ</sup> . . . .
| Ησοι . . . . Ψενχωνσιος . . . .
```

It is unfortunate that the payments are lost.

```
42. ξ δ

Παχυ. Ουω' Φα(μ) ....

Πετεχω' υιος .....

Ψεννυ'ς Φαχιο .....

Πικως Πετεχο' Πε ...

Πετ' Νιλωνος ...

Αχιλευς Τεμω(?)ρος ...

Πετυμ ...

Π ... υιος ...

Ερμι Φαυρ' Π ...

Ψενεν' Αμυντου υιος ...
```

43.

Παμ° Αβωτ' Παναμεως Πεν(?)ε Παναμεως Φθουμωνθ°

Ψεναμ° Θεοδωρ. Φμονθ

Ωρ. υιο^ς μ' συν Ηρακλυνους (sic)
Πεν(?)ε Καμητιος νεωτε- μ^μ συν Αριο[±]
Ψενθαω' πρ' Χες Φμονθ

Πανισ(?)κος Σεραπιωνος Θανπ
Ηρακλι^δ Αλεξανδ. Ποριευς
Ηρωντις Ψεναμ° Αβωτ

ιδ)

The interest of this list consists in the names of the localities to which the persons named in it belonged. No payments are recorded in it. Μ4 συν is "assistant collector" (μισθωτής συνεργός). Χεσ stands for Χεστενευς; see next ostrakon.

Here λι^ο represents λινοπωλίας, "the linen-draper's tax," and χ^L γειροναξίου "the poll-tax," while οκρ may perhaps be δ κριτής.

45. The following ostrakon is in the possession of Mr. Strachan-Davidson. The end and right side are broken off:-

```
O.PUK . . . .
â ka ...
θεωγ â k ...
νă
            ρο . . .
TubL
Παω
                 Пє...
Θŏ
                  \Pi \epsilon 	au \epsilon .
                   Περδι∟
\Pi \epsilon \rho \mu^{\perp} \epsilon \rho(?) \tau o \kappa^{\perp}
Ερ
            ρζρ
                   ..... ζουθ ...
Оμ
                                      кŋ(?) 8..
            €π
Περμ∟ 2 ψ ...
Τοτ
            \rho\eta(?)
Σπυκης
\mathbf{E}\boldsymbol{\rho}
            \gamma(?)\kappa
```

It is evident that we have here abbreviations of proper names Permamis, Perdikkas, Petemôn, &c. In the second line we must read "from (åπδ) the 21st (day)."

The following communication has been received:—

To W. HARRY RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary to the Society of Biblical Archæology.

DEAR SIR.

Will you kindly allow me to say a few words upon the criticisms made of my explanation of the "Battle of Cunaxa" by my old and good friend Mr. H. Rassam in Part 2, Vol. VIII of the Transactions of the Society (pp. 181, 182).

Mr. Rassam objects to the version given by me of an incident that took place at the end of the battle, as "certainly an astounding degenerate view taken of the actual battlefield;" and he adds, "I have not the least doubt that the 'hill' to which Xenophon alluded is the one on which stands the Khan or Caravanseri called Iskanderia."

Now the "battle of Cunaxa" may have been fought upon the ridge of Iskanderia, or rather on its prolongation to the north-west. but the allusion to the 'hill' is not in reference to where the hostile armies met, and from which the Persians fled, but to what occurred afterwards, when a portion of the Greeks, in the pursuit of the Persians were, as well as the retreating enemy, checked by cavalry planted on a 'hill' above a village.

When I said there were no hills, strictly speaking, on the plain of Babylonia, I did not mean there were no ridges of gravel. In my "Researches (Geological) in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa" (Parker, 1838), p. 116, I say, when describing the physical characters of the Babylonian alluvia: "It is rare that the pebbly deposits show themselves south of a line drawn across from Felūjah to Aker Kuf; but small circumscribed deposits by transport are occasionally met with islanded amidst these vast tracts of alluvium, as at *Khan Iskanderia*, and in other spots."

Mr. Rassam justly describes the local deposit in question as a pebbly ridge called by the Arabs "Haswa," which means pebbly soil; it is about sixty or seventy feet high, and fifteen miles long, and he adds, "so the village of Cunaxa must have been just below where Iskanderia Khan is now situated."

Now a ridge of gravel fifteen miles long and of nearly regular elevation can scarcely be termed a hill, although on ascending it, as I have done on going from Baghdad to Hillah (and I have slept at the Khan of Iskanderia), a person may be said to be going "up hill." If, as Mr. Rassam argues, the village was below the ridge of Iskanderia, the 'hill' occupied by the Persians was beyond or above the village, not before it, or eastward, or northward.

This admitted, then comes the main point, the word used by the Greek historian. No one was ever more careful or accurate, or more choice in his diction, than Xenophon; and it is owing to his close regard to details that I have been able to trace the marches of the Greeks throughout the greater part of the "Anabasis" and the "Katabasis" (the advance and the retreat). (See my "Travels in the Track of the Ten Thousand Greeks": Parker, 1844; and the "Commentary" on Watson's "Anabasis:" Bohn, 1854.)

Now Xenophon would not have used such a word as gelogos or gelophos without a meaning. Mr. Rassam says he finds logos in Liddell's Lexicon to signify a ridge of ground, or a rising ground. Justly so; but Xenophon added the syllable ge, 'earth,' to logos, 'hill,' to indicate that it was a ridge or hill of earth. Charles Anthon, LL.D., adopts this view of the case in his "Anabasis," (Tegg, 1848), note to page 119; as does also the Rev. J. F. Macmichael in his "Anabasis" (Whittaker & Co., 1868), note to page 74.

The incidents of the battle (for which we are indebted to Plutarch for a name) are given at length by Xenophon. The affair at the *gelogos*, with village in front of it, did not take place till the end of the battle, and after the death of Cyrus, when certain of the Greeks followed the retreating Persians to a village, where both they, and the Greeks in pursuit, were stopped by cavalry occupying an eminence (or *gelogos*) above the village.

Granting then that the Greeks crossed the ridge of Iskanderia, and Mr. Rassam extends the ridge to about eight miles north of Musayib, and the hostile forces first met on that ridge, this would scarcely have occurred in the parallel of the Khan, for the Greeks came from the north, and would have kept nearer to the river Euphrates.

Mr. Rassam himself admits that they came from the direction of the Saglawia.

But even this view of the case is not admissible, for Xenophon describes the Greeks as forming themselves on the day of battle, "Clearchus on the right wing close to the Euphrates; next to him Proxenus; and after him the rest." The centre of the army of Artaxerxes is described, it is true, as extending beyond the left wing of the Greeks, and may therefore have been at some distance from the river; but before the incident at the 'gelogos,' Tissaphernes is described as penetrating with his horse "quite as far as the river;" but being defeated, the Persians were pursued, and the incident in question ensued.

If Mr. Rassam had consulted the details given in the "Travels in the Track," &c., instead of the brief notices in the "Commentary," he would have found that I did not take so "astounding" a "degenerate" view of the field of battle as to confound it with an incident that occurred at the end of the battle. Indeed, in the briefer "Commentary," as quoted by Mr. Rassam himself, it is said, "the night of the battle." Mr. Rassam would also have found that the details given of the battle itself, with the right resting on the river, is totally inconsistent with the idea of the said battle having occurred in the parallel of Iskanderia.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
WILLIAM FRANCIS AINSWORTH.

Ravenscourt Villa, Hammersmith, W. July 4th, 1884.

The following communication has been received:-

The accompanying photographic block represents an ex voto from the temple of Baal at Carthage. It belongs to A. C. Bruce-Pryce, Esq., of Duffryn, near Cardiff, who purchased it at Tunis.



Such votive tablets are by no means rare; indeed the number of them now in Europe must amount to many hundreds. The inscription in this case consists merely of the invariable dedicatory formula to the goddess Tnt and to Ba'al Ḥammân (or Ḥammôn, Ammon):

לרבת לתנת פנ בעל ולא[דן] לבעל חמן

and the name of the dedicator, Bod-Ashtôreth (βοδόστωρ, Bostor):

אש נדר בדעשתר[ת]

WM. WRIGHT,

Queens' College, Cambridge. 4th October, 1884. The following Communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:—

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO SLAVE-DEALING IN BABYLONIA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

In the *Proceedings* of this Society for April, 1883 (pp. 103-107), and February, 1884 (pp. 102-106), I gave translations of some Babylonian tablets referring to the sale of certain slaves who, being marked with the name of their original owners, were liable at any moment to be claimed by them, the then holders of the slaves being obliged, in accordance with the wording of the contract, to return them to their former owners on such claim being made. I now give the text, with a translation, of a tablet recording the making of a claim, the giving back of the slaves, and the refunding of the money paid for them.

S.+, 431.

- 1. Šattu sabîtu Y Kam-bu-zi-ia, šarri, ârhu Kisilimi, ûmu haššu Year seventh of Kambyses, the king, month Kislev, day fifth.
- 3. mâri-šu ša Y Ra-za-am u-mar-ga-'
 son of Razam has forfeited
- 4. Y As-bu-me-ta-na-', mâri-šu ša

 Asbumetana', son of
- 5. Y As-bu-ta-ti-ka
 Asbutatika;
- 6. Ka-ar-da-ra-'
 Kardara' (and)
- 7. P Ḥat-ti-za-', la-ta-ni-šu-nu Hattiza', their wives
- 8. a-na šanê šinipu mana kaspi a-na for two and two-thirds of a mana of silver, to
- J Iddi-na-a D.P. a-ši-bu, mâri-šu ša Iddinâ, the magician, son of
- Nabû-âḥê-iddin it-ta-din Nabû-âḥê-iddin, he has given up.

TABLET REFERRING TO THE RESTORATION OF SLAVES, ON THE REFUNDING OF THE MONEY PAID.

S. + 431.

- 3. 肾 【 ♥ 】 〒耳 ※ □ □ 4 冊 〒 □ 〒 ☆ ☆ ☆ □
- 4 1 餘於下涮山如醉耳
- 5. 1 徐 宗 河(文 过)
- 6. 全 当日 (小州) 国(百日 4-
- 7. 全年例以外国期 14
- 8. 17 4 11 11 =1 4 11 14 4
- 10. 【 当时 至 医 今 国创 到 点
- 12. 本知日日日日日日日
- 13. 设计【参】】 集
- 15. 乡里医区型国色乡里
- 16. ▼ 新 学 新 学 新 子
- 17. | | | (erasure.)
- 18. **★ ★ (erasure)**.

On the left-hand edge is the impression of a seal with a representation not unlike a scorpion, but which is, most likely, only produced by natural marks in the stone used for the seal. Beneath the seal-impression are the words

.

- II. Y Ar-ta-ru-šu, D.P. rab-dam-garē Artarušu, the chief of the field-labourers,
- 12. ik-ta-bî um-ma: A-na-ku i-di-eš

 has declared thus: I know it,
- 13. kaspi-šu in-na-aš. his money has been taken.
- 14. Ina manza-zu ša ¶ Rî-mut u ¶ Mu-ra-šu-u

 In the presence of Rîmut and Murašû,
- 15. D.P. Sangē; Y Ḥa-ba-ṣi-ru, D.P. Sangū priests; Habaṣiru, priest
- 16. ša Bît-ka-şi-ra-nu; of Bît-kaşiranu; (and)
- 17. Y Ni-ri-a-bi-ik-nu Niriabiknu.
- 18. D.P. E-la-mu the Elamite.

FREE RENDERING.

"In the seventh year of Cambyses the king, the month Kislev, fifth day, the Razam-ubba, son of Razam, has given back Asbumetana,' son of Asbutatika; Kardara', and Ḥattiza', their wives, for two and two-thirds of a mana of silver, to Iddinâ, the magician, son of Nabû-âḥî-iddin, he has given them up. Artarušu, the chief of the field-labourers, has declared thus:—'I bear witness that his money has been taken.'

"In the presence of Rêmut and Murašû, priests; Ḥabaṣiru, priest of Bît-kaṣiranu; and Niri-abiknu, the Elamite."

On the edge, beneath the seal, are the words, $Kunuk \ \ Ar[tarušu]$, "the seal of Artarušu."

This small but most interesting text refers, as will easily be seen, to the demand for the return of Asbumetana', son of Asbutatika, and Kardara' and Hattiza', apparently their wives; the money paid for them when they were bought by Razam-ubba, being repaid by Iddinâ at the same time. A declaration by a man named Artarušu, to the effect that money had really been taken (by the seller, Iddinâ) for the slaves, when he had sold them to Razam-ubba, is given, and the giving back of the slaves and the refunding of the money is witnessed by four people.

I give here a passage from the tablet of legal precedents, which will serve to explain the reason for the giving back of the slaves and the refunding of the money by the seller:—

Amēlu amēlutti A man who slaves 日子 译 图图 图 4日 ana kaspi iddinu - ma for silver has given and 井州图 - 体时9月11月月 pakaru ina muhhi ibšû-ma; a claim upon (them) there is; âbkati nadinanu, the sum received (by) the giver, kt pt D.P. antim, kaspa, the money. according to the contract, ina kakkadi-šu mahiranu ana in its head the buyer to 医机械中国 医起源 inamdin. mârāni he gives. children MEAN. # 4 tûldu. ina êštin bar šikli kaspi they have borne, by the one-half shekel of silver 生 数件 inamdin. he gives.

FREE RENDERING.

"A man who has sold slaves for money, and has kept a claim upon them; the sum received by the seller, the money, according to the contract, in its full amount, he shall give back. If children have been born, he shall pay for them at the rate of one-half (or one and a-half) of a shekel of silver."

The above text and extract will show that the translation proposed by me for the tablet containing the unknown characters (*Proceedings* for April, 1883, pp. 103-107, and June, 1883, pp. 152-154), with the corrections afterwards made by me (*Proceedings* for February, 1884, pp. 102-106), is substantially correct, the slave being really sold on the condition that, if the seller thought fit to buy her back again, he could do so upon refunding the money. That published in the *Proceedings* for February, 1884, is also, as there pointed out, a transaction of the same class, and well illustrates the law of slave-trading in Babylonia in ancient times. All three documents explain, and are in turn explained by, the extract from the tablet of legal precedents given above.

The tablet S.+, 431 differs from almost all other trade-documents in beginning, instead of ending, with the date. It is also peculiar in containing a declaration by a witness that the money refunded had really been paid, and in the expression - Ty ina manza-zu, instead of the more usual \longrightarrow \longrightarrow Mu-kin-nu for the witnesses. We have here again (l. 3), as in the two other tablets already translated (Proceedings for June, 1883, and February, 1884), the verbal form from the root מרק, here given אין, here given umarga, with the usual change from to which occurs so often in the Babylonian dialect. The meaning is, "to forfeit," or "give up." The word latani, in line 7, I conjecture to mean "wife," when speaking of a slave. In line 9 occurs the word asibu, connected. most likely, with the Akkadian išib, "incantation." This root seems to have become quite naturalized in Babylonian. Ides, in the 12th line, is for îdê-šu, "I know it." This word is preceded by anaku, "I," because the first and third person singular masc. of ida, "to know," are the same. Innas seems to be the third person singular masc. niphal of našū, "to raise," "take," "bring," Heb. No. (in The loss of the last radical (7) is rather Babylonian (נשה). common in words of this class-indeed, the Assyrian 7 was as lightly pronounced as the Hebrew N*. The name in the last line an Elamite, and it is not therefore unlikely that the other seemingly non-Semitic names, Y 三文 YY Y A, Razam, Y 三文 YY Y A 文 三, Razam-ubba, Y 1 1 1 1 Am, Asbu-metana', Y 1 1 1 新》→《 本门, Asbu-tatika, 企 本门 (小川) 百八 本一, Artarusu, are Elamite also. The first three characters of the second line are doubtful, but they seem to be intended for rab humadi, "chief of the humadi." If this be the case, the words are written in a most unusual way, the usual prefix for an officer, (see lines 9, 11, 15, and 18) being left out, and substituted for (see line 11). The position of the word also is unusual. however, most of the people engaged in the contract were certainly foreigners, it is likely that not only the expression, but the unusual

^{*} In W.A.I. III, plate 59, line 40 (gloss), occurs the interesting form \(\)

form of the drawing-up of the whole, arises from the fact that it was either written or dictated by one of these strangers. *Ḥumadi*, if it be the title of Razam-ubba, is probably, therefore, a foreign word.*

In the extract from the table of legal precedents the following words are interesting:—

The form ameluttu (=amēlūtu) is an abstract from amēlu "man" (fem. amēltu, "woman," occurring also in this tablet). It is also expressed on the contract-tablets (see Proceedings for April, 1883, p. 107) with the ideograph and phonetic complements (>> THY) (>= E, amēlū-tum). Abkatu comes probably from the common Babylonian word âbāku, "to take," "to acquire." The forms nadinanu, "giver," and maḥiranu, "receiver," are also very noteworthy.† It may here be remarked, that the Babylonian verb nadānu, from which come the forms iddinu and inamdin, has probably nothing to do with the Hebrew [12], as there was in Babylonian, much used at Sepharvaim, the verb natānu, having the same meaning. The third pers. sing. aor. Kal of natānu is ittan.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

THE KYPRIOTE GRAFFITI OF ABYDOS.

Since the publication of my Paper on the Kypriote inscriptions I copied at Abydos, in the last number of the *Proceedings*, I have received notes upon them from Dr. Deecke and Mr. Pierides, which, as coming from such experienced decipherers of this class of inscriptions, are particularly valuable. Dr. Deecke, indeed, has made a discovery which is of high importance for the future interpretation of the Kypriote texts: he has pointed out that among the characters I

- * It may be, however, that the four initial wedges, which are rather faint and uncertain, are not to be read, in which case we should have the determinative prefix , instead of . It is possible also that the two following characters are intended for ("to ride"), and if so, we should get the group , which may be transcribed amēl šadadi, "man of a chariot," or "charioteer."
- † These are evidently archaic forms, used in a legal sense. Upon the same model is formed the common word pakiranu, "claimant," from the same root as pakaru, "claim." The same form occurs in line 16 of the tablet S. +, 431 above, in the expression, Btt-kaşiranu.

copied there are some which denote closed syllables, i.e., syllables beginning and ending with a consonant.

Like M. Six, Dr. Deecke and Mr. Pierides have noticed that the character I inadvertently read ma in No. III is really ku, the name being κυπραγόρω.

In IV they propose to read Móyaus instead of Mógaus, and Dr. Deecke compares the termination with that in -áucos (-auías) as in *Phanis* by the side of Phanios and Phanias.

In VI Dr. Deecke would read Μαλακλείδω, considering it to be a name compounded with μάλα.

In VII he would read Μέλερμος, comparing Μελήσερμος and Μελέαγρος. He interprets the name Phaukrês as meaning "Light in need" (comp. φαό-βιος, Φώ-κριτος).

In IX he proposes Noστ-aμaυσa(s), suggesting the names 'Aμευσίαs' and 'Aμευσανίαs in explanation of the second part of the compound. See his note on XL.

In X he conjectures ἔφυ Ἡδαλιεύ(s). My third copy, however, marks all the characters as certain except the second se.

In XI he conjectures 'Ellowikios and 'Ellowikios. His conjecture is confirmed by my copy, which has $\sum ni$, though the engraver has turned it into the usual form of tc.

On XII he remarks that ἀπιθήs actually occurs by the side of ἀπειθήs.

In XV he suggests 'Ιφι-ολάτωρ for 'Ιφι-ολέτωρ.

In XXIII he points out that the name is 'Aκεστο-μέ(μ) $\phi\eta s$, formed like ἀμεμφήs.

In XXV he notes that the reading is no doubt Vages, since ἡγίομαι originally began with digamma.

In XXVI he compares the Kypriote name 'Aρί-βαος, and adds that perhaps Oreklês is for 'Ορεσ-κλη̂ς.

In XXVII he regards the names as compounded with νέννιστος, the superlative of νέννος, i.e., νάννος, the second name being Νενιστο-βάλην.

In XXXIV he reads 'O(μ)φο-κλέξης, and in XLII Thyrsiya(s).

His important discovery is in XL, where he shows that must be ros, the words being Hérpos and Supakapós. I may add that the first letter of the first line is in my copy, though the engraver has made it the ordinary po. For he proposes the

value of nos, and identifies the character with \(\) in No. IX, the names being 'Απυγνώμονος or 'Απυμνάμονος and Nostamausas. In this case \(\) has the value of gno or mna. He also regards \(\) in No. XVII, \(\) No. XX and \(\) No. XXV as new characters.

Mr. Pierides has suggested a few conjectural readings, through a misconception of the notes I have attached to my copies. It is only where I mark a character as doubtful that I consider it to be so; where I mention that it is clear or distinct, this only means that it was unusually large and deeply cut. In all other cases the character seemed clear to me after at least three examinations on different days and in different lights; and though every individual epigraphist is necessarily fallible, the clearness of the Egyptian atmosphere, and the satisfactory state of preservation in which the graffiti are, render the chances of error unusually small.

Thus in No. I Mr. Pierides proposes to add the characters te-ke, so as to get the words $\mu' d\nu' \ell \eta_{KE}$. There was, however, no trace of any letter after the final ne, and $d\nu' \ell \eta_{KE}$, "he dedicated," would be singularly inappropriate in a graffito.

In No. XIV he suggests that the second character may be read la, giving $\sum \epsilon \lambda a \mu i \sigma \epsilon \omega s$, "of Selamisis." It is, however, quite unlike any known form of la.

In No. XVIII he corrects my reading into Θειδοτίγα.

In No. XIX he conjectures *Protagoras* in the genitive as the father's name.

In XX he suggests τόδε Ἐρέθιμος.

In XXIII he conjectures 'Ακεστό-κυφος for the first name.

On XXIV he says: "The first two characters in the first name may be a-u, giving 'Αυτοκρέτης. I cannot help thinking that the second name is Βίσαος; the third is, I believe, rightly interpreted; and the last was probably "Αγης."

In XXVI he ingeniously suggests 'ΟΓικλη̂s, "the cattle-owner," which seems certainly right.

In XXVII he would read Νηριστότιμος and (like M. Six and Dr. Deecke) βαλήν.

In XXVIII he suggests $\delta \nu a \nu a \nu a \gamma \delta s$ "the ship-builder," and it is quite possible that the two lower bars of the last character but one in the *graffito* may have been added to it by some later visitor to Abydos.

On XXIX he remarks that the name Onasilos, in later times Onêsilos, was peculiar to Cyprus.

In XXX he suggests that the second character may be intended for ka.

On XXXII he says: "Try (Ta-)o-i-ne ta-o-na-o-se Δηωίνη Δηωνήος. The second name I take to be in the genitive, the nom. being probably Δηωνής."

In XXXIV he reads the first name $\Sigma \circ \phi \circ \kappa \lambda \acute{\epsilon} f \eta s$, which is undoubtedly right.

On XXXVII he expresses his conviction that the third character is si. In the second name he sees Aristokretês.

In XLII he suggests Δίμος for Δείμος.

For XLIII he suggests very doubtfully Πιμονθόκη ἱρός να(ός), "the sacred shrine of Pimonthakês."

On my own account I have to correct one or two errors in my paper. Tomb No. 10 in the valley of the Tombs of the Kings at Thebes was not the sepulchre of Ramses IV, but of Hest, the mother of Ramses VI.

On I, I ought to have quoted a Greek graffito I copied on the left side of the staircase at Abydos, which gives the form Σελαμίνιος. The inscription is (Στασί)οικος μέ γράφει ὁ Σελαμίνιος. In another Greek graffito on the eleventh column of the façade of the temple of Seti, the word is written in the ordinary way: 'Ονάσιμος Σαλαμίνιος (Θ)εμιστόκλ(ους) αὐλητὴς. I may add here another Greek inscription scratched on the wall of one of the chambers of the temple by a native of Soli, which was probably the Kyprian town of that name:—

Παύρων Φιλοπίου Cόλιος ήκω προςκύνηςαι θε(οὺς) μεγάλους "Ιςιν καὶ Cάραπιν.

I could find no other Kyprian Greek texts at Abydos.

In IX the last character but one of the first line should be transliterated vo.

In XVIII, if my restoration is correct, the last character but three should be read i not o.

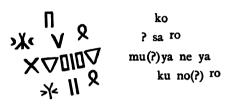
In XXXI, the second character is ro, not ra.

In XXXVII the engraver has turned the first character of the second line into two.

Nov. 4]

I must also add another graffito (No. XLIV) which I copied in the Couloir des Rois at Abydos, but did not give in my last communication, as I thought it too imperfect for publication. M. Six, however, has since pointed out to me that it can be easily read. It is as follows:—

I will also add a Kypriote inscription on a seal belonging to Mr. R. P. Greg, about the genuineness of which, however, I have some doubts:—



The following communication from M. Pierides, also with reference to the Abydos Kypriote Graffiti published in the *Proceedings* of May last, has been forwarded by Professor Sayce:—

- No. I. Notwithstanding the fact that there were no traces on the wall of any letters after the final ne, I am still inclined to believe that we should read $d\nu i\theta \eta \kappa e$, for the word may have been left unfinished. In the very same graffito we have the character po, which appears to be the beginning of some name not completed. See also XI.
- No. IV. I believe Mr. Sayce is right in supposing that the second character of the first name might have been po; in which case we would have some derivative of $Mó\psi os$.
- No. VI. I am quite disposed to think that M. Six's suggestion in regard to the last name is correct.
- No. VII. For the first name I would propose Meγάθυμος, the ty and re being very much alike.
- No. IX. The first letter of the last name in the second line I think should be c. See the following graffito.

No. X. The character $\[\underline{\ } \]$ after the second so may possibly have been o: then follows a name which looks very much like the last name in the second line of IX, for who knows if $\[\]$ are not disjointed members of the $\[\]$ in the said name of IX? Though very sceptical on the point myself, I think it well to suggest the possible identity in the two groups; but then comes the question about the name, which I am obliged to leave open.

No. XIV. I wish to suppress the note I sent before; but still I hold that the second character is la. Perhaps the two lines represent the names

Σελαμισεύς Σελαμίσεως

Selamiseus the son of Selamiseus.

No. XXIII. My note to be suppressed.

No. XXVII. As I have already said, I cling to Νήριστος in preference to Νέριστος, as the former is an adjective, whereas the latter is a substantive, and as such can have no superlative; moreover, νήριστος agrees better with the other component part of the name, Νηριστοβαλήν, "indisputable chief or king."

No. XXXVI. I am not inclined to give up **Eraciones** as the first name, and I have great doubts as to the reading of the second line; it seems to me that the first character in that line is *ri*, but I cannot submit a satisfactory reading of my own.

No. XLIII. What I formerly wrote under this graffito I wish to be suppressed.

The following communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf:—

THE HORSE IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

A well known rubric in the Book of the Dead (125, 67) has the words, "a field to which no horse has access," had be a comparatively late acquisition of Egypt. Is the chapter, or the rubric which mentions the horse, to be therefore considered a late addition to the Book of the Dead?

It is the horse which is the addition.

The passage is a corrupt one. It contains a false concord, the masculine pronoun having for antecedent a feminine noun. The older manuscripts read —, but the later ones (including the hieratic), curiously enough, repeat the blunder. The animal's name is variously written, it is sometimes — maa, a lion or cat; most probably the latter (for lions could never have been very common); sometimes it is — mas, a heifer; but in later manuscripts generally — aut, a goat. This is also the reading of the demotic version (see Zeits., 1867, p. 102). Now as the mistake of for has probably given rise to the reading mas instead of maa, so has most probably a misreading of the hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal given rise to the reading for hieratic form of equal for hieratic for hieratic form of equal for hieratic for

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 2nd Dec., 1884, at 8 p.m., when the following papers will be read:—

I. Dr. Birch, *President:*—"On some Egyptian Rituals of the Roman Period."

II. Dr. BIRCH, President:—"The Egyptian Belief about 'The Shade."

NOTICES.

SUBSCRIPTIONS to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 73, Lombard Street, E.C.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. VIII, Part 3, of the "Transactions" of the Society will be issued in January next. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

The LIBRARY and OFFICES of the Society will be closed during Vacation, from December 24th to January 2nd, 1885, inclusive.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
BRUGSCH-BEY, Grammaire Démotique. 1 vol., folio.
Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler.
Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et
publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and
the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
2nd series, 1869.
Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1866.
1 empel-Inschritten, 1802. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1877.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
DE Rougé, Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
SCHRADER, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. 1872.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th and 7th Ancient Monarchies.
OSBURN, The Antiquities of Egypt. 8vo., 1841.
ROBINSON, Biblical Researches. 8vo., 1841.
PIERRET, Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Égyptienne. 8vo. Paris, 1875.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
WILKINSON, Materia Hieroglyphica. Malta, 1824-30. (Text only.)
Chabas, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, II, III. 1862-1873.
Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année
Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
MASPERO, Du genre épistolaire chez les Égyptiens de l'époque
Phraonique. 8vo. Paris, 1872.
De Carchemis oppidi Situ et Historia Antiquissimâ.
8vo. Paris, 1872.

PROCEEDINGS

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THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Second Meeting, 2nd December, 1884.

THE REV. CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY
IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Royal Society:—Proceedings. Vol. XXXVII. No. 233. 8vo. London. 1884.
- From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XL. Part 4. No. 160. November, 1884. 8vo. London. List of Members, November 1st, 1884.
- From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. No. 11. November, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1884-85. Nos. 1, 2, & 3. October and November, 1884. 4to. London. List of Members. 4to. London. 1884.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—
 The Journal. Vol. XIV, No. 2. November, 1884. 8vo.
 London.

[No. XLIX.]

From the American Philological Association:—The Transactions. Vol. XIV. 8vo. Cambridge, U.S.A. 1884.

From the Royal Dublin Society:—The Scientific Transactions. Vol. I. (Series II.) Communications Nos. 20 to 25. 4to. Dublin. 1882 and 1883. Volume III. (Series 2.) Communications Nos. 1 to 3. 4to. 1883 and 1884.

Scientific Proceedings. Vol. III. (New Series.) Parts 6 and 7. 8vo. Dublin. 1882 and 1883. Volume IV. (New Series.) Parts 1, 2, 3, and 4. 8vo. Dublin. 1883 and 1884.

From the Smithsonian Institute:—The Annual Report of the Board of Regents for the year 1882. 8vo. Washington. 1884.

From the Author:—Il significato simbolico delle Pyramidi Egiziane. Ricerche di Ernesto Schiaparelli. 4to. Roma, Torino, Firenze. 1884.

Reale Accademia dei Lincei. (Anno CCLXXXI. 1883-84.)
From the Author:— Astronomische Beiträge zur assyrischen Chronologie. Von Dr. Eduard Freiherrn v. Haerdte. 4to. Wien. 1884.

Besonders abgedruckt aus dem XLIX Bande der Denkschriften der Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Classe der Kais Akad, der Wissenschaften.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 13th, 1885:—

Rev. Maxwell H. Close, 40, Lower Baggot Street, Dublin.

Rev. Walter John Edmonds, B.D., Vicar of Highbury, South Molton, Devon.

Rev. Thomas Graham, D.D., President of St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith, S.W.

Rev. Benjamin Waugh, 56, Ludgate Hill, Editor of the Sunday Magazine.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

Andover Theological Seminary (Rev. W. L. Ropes, Librarian), Andover, Mass., U.S.A.

Manchester Grammar School (S. Dill, Head Master).

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on November 4th:—

Rev. W. I. F. Vashon Baker, M.A., The College, Marlborough. Rev. S. M. Hamilton, M.A., D.D., New York, U.S.A. Josiah Mullens, Sydney, New South Wales.

Mrs. E. O'Gorman, 39, Wilbury Road, West Brighton.

Rev. Thos. Richards, The Manse, Old Hill, near Dudley.

Rev. R. P. Thompson, Ranscomb Villas, Hayant.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

Divinity School, Philadelphia, Penn., U.S.A. Newton Theological Library, Newton Centre, Mass., U.S.A.

A Paper by DR. BIRCH, "On the Egyptian Belief concerning the Shade or Shadow of the Dead," was read by the Secretary.

THE Author explained that by the expression shade or shadow there could be no doubt that the actual shade or shadow was meant, for the gods are said to be "refreshed by their shadow;" and again, it is used in the often cited passage where the gods or souls are described as reposing under the shade of the branches of the trees. Again, in the description of the examination of the chamber of Abydos for the body of the god Osiris, it is stated of the body, "not was it found, a shade it was found."

In a scene too of the lamentations of the body of Osiris tall curving \uparrow are placed over the three figures lamenting, which is explained in the text, ".. their shade with them rest they upon them."

In all these passages the meaning is that of actual shade or shadow, without any spiritual allusion. So also of the serpent who is said to be devourer of shades, and the demon Assessor, who is called eater of the shades, coming out of the Karti, supposed to refer to the tropical well at Syene. But shade or shadows were attached to spiritual existences as gods, spirits, and souls, and partook of the nature of these existences. They appear, however, to be distinct, as they are mentioned separately. Nor could the author find that they are food off the tables of offerings presented to the dead, like the gas, or ghosts, although, like the soul, they could drink the pure water offered to the dead.

This applies to their connection with the qas, ghosts, or bas, souls; but the gods Af and Horus also had shades.

Attached to the soul, and also to the qa or 'Eidolon,' was the shade, which is under the form of a parasol. Phonetically it is written χab , $\chi aibt$, or $\chi aibit$, and is the Coptic GHIRI, GHIRI, with a meaning similar to that of $\sigma \kappa u\dot{a}$ or umbra of the Greek or Romans. The shade was supposed to be the light envelope of the soul, visible but not tangible, and is often mentioned in connection with the ba or "soul."

The shade was supposed to wander over the earth, going to the tomb, visiting those who belonged to him, enjoying the offerings of his relations, and then disappearing to the body in the grave. In the hieroglyphic texts, however, the shade has no representation beyond the face or mummy, it never appears with the bodily form of the deceased; so that no light is thrown upon the hypothesis of its representing the form of the deceased from the monuments themselves. There also appears to have been only one "shade" to each ghost or soul; the sun is stated to have seven, and fourteen qa or eidola, or phantasms, two attached to each soul; the qa, indeed, had a form, as appears from the coffin of Amam.

This shows that qa was the shape of every god. The author's object, however, was not to discuss the qa, which had been already amply done by Mr. Le Page Renouf* and M. Maspero, but to analyse the nature of the $\chi aibit$ or "shade" from the monuments.

The shade is mentioned with the soul at the earliest period, for in the inscriptions of the Pyramid of Unas, of the sixth dynasty, at Sakkarah, it states: "Their souls (bau) are under Unas, their shades $(\chi abitu)$ are united together, and Unas devours the spirits in a burning hell."

In the coffins of the eleventh dynasty, published by Lepsius, the shade is again mentioned, as in the "bringing the shade $(\chi aibit)$ with his ghost $(qa\ f)$," where it is connected with the qa. It is however at the time of the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty that the shades play the most prominent part in the inscriptions of the Tiau or under world.

In the Ritual the shades also appear: "Walk I in the leading shades $(\chi abit)$, spirits (χu) ." Here it must be either shades of the dead, or souls of spirits, in which cases the shade was something

^{*} Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VI, pp. 494-508.

appended to the spirit, as in another place the shade was apparently also appended to the soul.

From another chapter, entitled, "The chapter of opening the chamber of the soul and shade coming forth daily sure of food," there can be no doubt that the shade was independent of the soul, although not represented in the vignette, for besides the shade of the gods, of spirits, and souls, there was also the shade of the dead, as in the passage of the Ritual where it says: "Do not let me be imprisoned by the detainers of the limbs of Osiris, the detainers of soul, the χ^{tm} χ^{aibit} mut, shutters up, the shade of the reprobate dead." Again, "Not prevailing over my shade (the deceased and living off) the shade of the dead." "Their soul," says another passage, "live by words accompanying their going out."

Some shades are called the damned, sebi t, in the Hades, while of others it is stated that "they turn back on your shades" ($\chi aibit$). Of another of the gods of hell it is said: "he cuts at your bodies, defeating souls your, expelling your shades" ($\chi aibt$), and in the passage, "purification twice to eidolon thine, to spirit thine soul thine, to shades thine, to mummy thine."

Here the elements of the dead are the ghost qa, the soul ba, the body tet, the shade $\chi aibt$, and the mummy sahu. The same is given from the unedited chapter of the Ritual of Amenhotep in the Louvre: "O ye dividers of souls, O all ye gods, who are lords of life, bring the soul of the Osiris Amenhotep, that it may be united to his soul, his soul being separated from his body. The gods in Heliopolis (hat-ben) bring to him (his parts) at Heliopolis, the place of Shu, the son of Tum; his heart, ab, is to him as that of Ra, his other heart, hati, is to him as that of Khepera. Purification to thy qa (eidolon), to thy soul ba, to thy body tet, to thy shade $\chi aibit$."

Here it will be observed that although the deceased has only one ba, qa, and sahu, he has shades in the plural, as if shades were attached both to the qa and ba, for they are both mentioned before the sahu or body; and this recalls to mind that the Sun had seven souls but fourteen qa, or two eidola or genii to each soul, and here I would apply the text, "O leaders of souls, directors of shades."

I will now turn to the punishment of the shade. In a kind of caldron, also in the tombs of the kings, are seen the souls, bodies, and shades of the wicked, held up by two hands; and in the burning pits of hell they are seen burning. The explanatory texts say, "that the shades live, they have raised their powers;" from which

it would appear that they survive the effect of the caldrons; from a papyrus also of the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty. In another section of the hell, the gods of which are obscure, there are also other passages.

In the paintings of the burning hell in the tomb of the kings of the nineteenth dynasty, showing the punishment of the future state, it is said of the shades: "Strangle ye the dead, cut ye the shades strangled."

That is, the shades were cut off the souls of the dead, and so separated from them. Again, in another scene, it says: "Those who live in this section make road. That great god addresses them, they rest."

In another section of the hell, the description is: "The gods in this picture adore the great god, because he is elevated above them, they receive his great disk and shade." In the representation accompanying this scene the shades on the heads of the souls are coloured blue. In another scene souls are seen with shades over their heads.

On the later wooden tablets of the period, ranging from the twenty-second dynasty to the Ptolemies, the procession of the solar boat is hailed by the soul, ba, with upraised hands, and the shade $\chi aibit$. Here the shade appears as a companion of the soul. So again, the Sun says: "I, the Sun, manifest what is hidden, throw light upon mysteries, I give life to your souls, $se\chi en$ sen her $\chi aibit$ ten, who alight on your shades;" so in the same scenes of the burning hells of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the texts state: "Come the wicked dead, from whom I have escaped, my father strikes, after his defeat, your bodies, mutilating your souls, expelling hebt, your shades, your heads are cut off."

Ideas like those I have already given are translated from monuments of the papyri relating to the passage of the Sun through the second hour of the day. "The wicked dead come from ... whom my father strikes after his defeat, your bodies mutilating your souls expelling your shades, your heads are cut off, you no longer have a type, you do not come out, you do not escape the burning of the serpent, devourer of 100,000 (years), the consuming of the mistress of the furnaces, the flames of the mistress of pits, the fires of mistress of blocks, the mistress of swords cuts you and wounds you, she stabs you, you will never see again those on earth."

In the same hour of the night the souls of the opposers of Osiris

Haratif are stated to be the jailors of the hole; they live off the cries of the souls of the wicked, suffocating the souls and shades who raise their hands at the burning pit.

Again, it is said, "The serpent Na lives off the cries and roarings of Earth;" those attached to his worship proceed from his mouth daily. Those who are in this picture receive the excellence (nefrit) of the Sun's boat, crossing from those devoted to the serpent called "The life of the gods." They love the great god in the heaven, the passage is to the upper distances. They assume the type in heaven of shades, and rest in the wind and water. When ordered to live they do so in the great boat of the Sun in heaven."

This throws some light on the representation of shades in the later tablets, their existence with the souls in the solar boat, and their connection with the souls of men; for "never to see again those on earth," could hardly apply to demons; and when ordered to life under the type or form of shades, they are said to rest in the wind and water, and to participate in the boat of the Sun the eternal passage through the heavens.

Different ideas have prevailed among those who have treated on the soul, such as that the shade represented the obscurity caused by a dark body, and of the soul separated by the body, the radiancy of the sahu or mummy manifested on earth as a shadow, and in heaven, or a radiancy, the type or form produced by the procreator demiurgus; to which the author would add the thin material envelope which protected the soul from the intensity of the solar rays, following the vicissitudes of the soul and ghost.

A number of the original texts were quoted, with explanations of the ideas intended, all of which will be given in a future part of the *Transactions*, with a series of illustrations.

An Abstract of a Paper by Dr. BIRCH, "On some Egyptian Rituals of the Roman Period," was read by the Secretary.

These texts are for the most part written upon pieces of papyrus about ten to twelve inches wide and about eight inches high. The form of script used is that called Hieratic. The writing is of a later style, and the letters are carefully and distinctly although peculiarly formed. These rolls, which are necessarily of a small size, are found on the mummies beneath the outer folds of the bandages, and are so preserved from harm; although at times the writing is almost illegible,

owing to the injury caused by the running of the bitumen used in the process of embalming.

Such rolls are not found earlier than the first century of our era, and are hence of the Roman period. Few contain any ornamentation in colour, although in some instances the first few lines of the text are written in larger characters, more nearly resembling the hieroglyphic forms. One instance of some considerable amount of decoration in a papyrus of the same period is the Rhind Papyrus, already published, with notes and introduction by myself. In it there are a number of rudely-drawn coloured vignettes illustrating, as is usual in earlier times, the subject matter of the text, which is written in both Hieratic and Demotic. Another somewhat similar example is the hieratic papyrus of a dignitary of high rank whose name is written Kalashar, or Kalasiris. In a future note I hope to refer again to this papyrus.

The texts ordinarily contain ritualistic ideas borrowed from the old Book of the Dead, with especial reference to the future destiny of the soul and body, similar to those found in the sacred book called the Sai-en-sinsin, or Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, published by both de Horrack and Brugsch.

On account of the dogmas to which the text specially relates, it appears probable that we have an explanation of the reason why this class of papyrus was hidden beneath the bandages.

In considering the contents of these MSS., Dr. Birch referred to some of the Egyptian beliefs with regard to the future state, as naturally leading up to his further paper on "The Shade."

The following communication has been received:-

My DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

Nineveh House, Spring Grove, 5th November, 1884.

I regret to find from the letter written by my friend Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, and published in this month's *Proceedings*, that he has misunderstood my remarks read before the Society in March last in connection with the battle of Cunaxa mentioned by Xenophon.

Mr. Ainsworth seems to think that when I used the words, astounding degenerate view taken of the battle-field, they were applied to his theory, whereas I meant them to refer to the argument as used by Mr. Baillie Fraser. My words were these:—"Then Mr. Ainsworth

goes on to say, 'it is the more important to establish this fact [i.e., that the hill mentioned was an artificial mound], as there are no natural hills on the plains of Babylonia, and therefore the mention made by Xenophon of a hill at this place, has led the distinguished traveller Baillie Fraser to consider it as furnishing evidence of the battle having been fought to the north of the Median Wall." The point to which I took exception was the shifting of the battle-field from the south to the north of the Median Wall. It would certainly have been clearer, perhaps, if I had mentioned the name of Fraser when I used the words degenerate view, but I did not think that my words could be misunderstood, the more so as they immediately followed the theory of Mr. Fraser, and the mention of the battle having been fought to the north of the Median Wall. The degenerate view was that of Mr. Fraser, and only referred to by Mr. Ainsworth.

It was not my intention, when noticing the battle between Artaxerxes and his ambitious brother Cyrus, to review the able dissertation of Mr. Ainsworth on the topography of Babylonia, but I only alluded to his commentary on the "Anabasis" of Xenophon in connection with the disputed word $\lambda \circ \phi \circ \varepsilon$; that is to say, a ridge of ground, or a rising hill, mentioned by the historian.

Doubtless the ancients considered the boundary of Babylonia to commence from the Median Wall southward, and this is proved from Xenophon's own account of the march. After the army of Cyrus had crossed the Euphrates at or near Felujah, they journeyed three days, a distance of twelve parasangs, and after another march of three more parasangs they reached the trench which the "Great King" had made to serve as a defence against his brother. The fifteen parasangs specified (about forty-five miles)—is the distance between Saglawia and Nahr-Malka, or very near the mound of Aboohabba. Xenophon mentions that "this ditch extended up through the plain to the distance of twelve parasangs, as far as the wall of Media;" and if we take Sadd Nimroud to be that historical wall, his calculation tallies with the distance between Aboo-habba and the present village called Dijail, on the Tigris; that is to say, about thirty-five miles.

As for the opinion that the battle must have taken place near Emsayab, it is utterly untenable, because, in the first place, there are neither artificial nor natural hills of any magnitude there; and it is unreasonable to suppose that Artaxerxes would go out of the regular track to fight with his brother.

It is quite evident from the remaining ancient canals in the vicinity of Aboo-habba, or the ancient Sippara, that, in marching to meet the army of his brother, Cyrus proceeded along the bank of the Euphrates, and entered what Xenophon calls a narrow passage known by the name of Nahr-Malka, the famous great canal of Nebuchadnezzar, which must have been in his time in disuse. On leaving the bed of this canal (some parts of which are even now capable of concealing an army), Cyrus marched between it and the Euphrates, and confronted his brother on the lowest part of the ridge, called Haswa.

Believe me, yours sincerely,

H. RASSAM.

The following Communication has been received from Dr. BIRCH, President:—

It is rare to find on sepulchral objects other indications than those relating to the dead, and the sepulchral formulas and adorations addressed to the dead. The linen wraps of mummies indeed occasionally have written upon them the name and age of the deceased, and the name of the monarch under whom they were embalmed, but even these notices are rare. This induces me to record two notices relating to sepulchral objects which I have found in the collections of the British Museum.

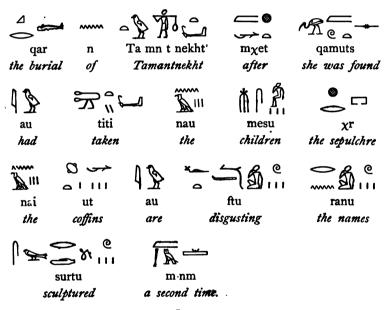
The first occurs inside the cover of one of those coffins coloured yellow, richly adorned with sepulchral scenes and hieroglyphs painted in colours, richly varnished, and attributed by Mariette to the nineteenth dynasty.* They often have in their legends or decorations the name of Amenhotep I, of the eighteenth dynasty, who seems to have enjoyed posthumous honours, for unknown reasons, for a later period than the eighteenth dynasty. In their interiors figures of deities, painted in bright colours on a maroon ground, are also found, and some of the persons for whom they were made bear the name of Amenhotep or Amenophis. Many, however, are for priestesses of Amen Ra at Thebes, and their pictures recall to mind the so-called solar litanies of the same period, where the scenes relate to the passage of the sun through the Egyptian hell.

^{*} Mariette, "Notice du Musée à Boulaq," p. 42: Paris, 1369,

On the cover of the coffin of the Museum No. 6664a, which is of a singing-woman of Amen Ra, whose name was a first a man t nekht, the following inscription occurs, in two vertical lines of hieroglyphs traced in white on a maroon ground, the same as an invocation to Nut, traced on the interior of the lid. It faces to the left of the spectator, and reads:—

renpa xmt abut ftu shait hru n nm

The year three, 4th month, spring season, the 15th the day of renewing



Here certainly the mes, are the sons, not the labourers or workmen, of the sepulchres, as that their names should be held in aversion would have been a very inadequate punishment for the offence, whereas the appropriation by the family could be well mentioned in such terms. The whole refers to the desecration of the tombs in the days of the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty. There is some doubt about her name, though not her title. I have found

amongst my notes, although I cannot give the reference, the title x = x = x = x which proves that x = x = x = x not a pallakis, as they were obviously not required for a goddess.

The next memorandum is that placed on the shabti, or sepulchral figure No. 8704 of the British Museum, which is made of arragonite or alabaster, with the usual chapter 6 of the Ritual incised round the dress. This inscription is traced in black ink in a vertical line on the right side of the figure, and records the number of figures made in two months:—

Ĩ		~ <i>*</i>	
A	O 0		\bigcirc 0
ạ pi	pert	r abut snab	pert
First month of	the winter season	to the second month	of the same season,
		וו חיח	
\bigcirc	Zi	\cup	
ārq	sa	gut fru	
the termination	personages	twenty-four.	

Recording that the artists had made 24 figures in the course of two months, or 60 days. The term *pert* is of course the winter season, but as the year was vague it is not possible to determine its relative place in the absence of any indication to its position in the present calendar. The figure is about the period of the twentieth dynasty, B.C. 1000-900.

The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, January 13th, 1885, when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

THEO. G. PINCHES will read some remarks on the Babylonian Kings of the Mythical Period.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Third Meeting, 13th January, 1885.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Royal Geographical Society:—Proceedings, and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VI. No. 12. 8vo. December, 1884. Vol. VII. No. 1. January, 1885.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—Proceedings, Session 1884-1885. 4to. London. Nos. 4, 5, and 6. 1884-85.
- From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement.

 January, 1885. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries:—Aarboger. 3rd Part. 1884. 8vo. Copenhagen.
- From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Edited by Basil L. Gildersleeve. Vol. V, 3. Whole No. 19. October, 1884. 8vo. Baltimore.
- From the Editor, Rev. S. D. Peet:—The American Antiquarian. Vol. VI. No. 6. November, 1884. 8vo. Chicago.



From A. Cope-Whitehouse:—The School of Mines Quarterly. Vol. VI. No. 1. November, 1884. 8vo. New York.

Contains an article on Lake Moeris, by Mr. Whitehouse.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Analytical Index to the Remembrancia. A.D. 1579-1664. 8vo. London. 1878.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Catalogue of the Library of the Corporation of the City of London. 8vo. 1859. And Supplements 9th to 15th. 1869-1879.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Catalogue of a part of the Library of the Corporation of the City of London. 8vo. 1876. Supplement. 1877-1881. 8vo. 1882.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—Catalogue of Sculpture, Paintings, Engravings, and other works of art belonging to the Corporation of the City of London. 2 parts. 8vo. 1867 and 1868.

From the Author:—Die ägyptischen Denkmäler des Provinzial-Museums zu Bonn und des Museum Wallraff-Richartz zu Köln. Von Dr. Wiedemann. 8vo. Bonn. 1884.

Separat-abdruck aus den Jahrbuch d. Vereins von Altherthumsfreunden in Rheine. Heft LXXVIII.

From the Author:—La Déesse Istar, surtout dans le mythe Babylonien. Par C. P. Tiele. 8vo. Leide. 1884.

Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6me Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes à Leide.

From the Author:—Nouvelles Inscriptions Nabatéennes de Medaîn Salih. Par M. Philippe Berger. 4to. Paris, 1884.

From the Author:—Siegfried Langers Reiseberichte aus Syrien und Arabien. By Dr. W. Müller. 8vo. Vienna. 1883.

From the Author:—Zur vergleichendenden Semitischen Sprachforschung. Zwei vorträge gehalten auf dem sechsten internationalen Orientalisten-Congres in Leiden. Von David Heinrich Müller. 8vo. Leiden. 1884.

Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6me Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes à Leide.

From the Author:—On the Dispersion of Egyptian Antiquities. By Amelia B. Edwards.

From the Author:—On a fragment of a mummy case, containing a part of a Royal Cartouche. By Amelia B. Edwards.

Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6me Session du Congrès international des Orientalistes à Leide.

From W. Harry Rylands (Secretary):—Grammaire Égyptienne, ou principes généraux de l'écriture sacrée égyptienne appliquée à la répresentation de la langue parlée. Par M. Champollion le jeune. Publiée sur la manuscrit autographe, par l'ordre de M. Guizot. Folio. Paris. 1836.

[1885.

From W. Harry Rylands (Secretary):—The unedited Antiquities of Attica; comprising the Architectural Remains of Eleusis, Rhamnus, Sunium, and Thoricus. By the Society of Dilettanti. Second edition. Folio. 1833.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on December 2nd:—

Rev. Maxwell H. Close, 40, Lower Baggot Street, Dublin.

Rev. Walter John Edmonds, B.D., Vicar of Highbury, South Molton, Devon.

Rev. Thomas Graham, D.D., President of St. Mary's Training College, Hammersmith, S.W.

Rev. Benjamin Waugh, 56, Ludgate Hill, Editor of the Sunday Magazine.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

Andover Theological Seminary (Rev. W. L. Ropes, Librarian), Andover, Mass., U.S.A.

Manchester Grammar School (S. Dill, Head Master).

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on February 3rd, 1885:—

Miss Sophia Foster, 17, Bateman Street, Cambridge.

Professor F. A. Gast, Lancaster, Pa., U.S.A.

Rev. William Page, B.A., The Manse, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

Rev. A. Thursby Pelham, Cound Rectory, Shrewsbury.

Rev. William Kingdon Rowe, 8, Streatham Place, Brixton Hill, S.W. Miss Williams, 3, Hillgrove Road, South Hampstead.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Central Park, New York, U.S.A.

The following were elected Honorary Members of the Society:—

Professor J. Lieblein, Christiania. Dr. A. Wiedemann, Bonn.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1884.

FROM time to time during the past year it has been an unfortunate duty to register the loss of many valued Members of the Society. Notices have been recorded in the Proceedings, but we cannot but look back with extreme regret now at the close of the year, when we review the names of the well-known scholars and kind friends who have passed away.

It is needless here, as it would perhaps be out of place, to enter into any memoir of their lives, or the works by which they are known. Of some of them this can be acquired easily, as their loss is not ours alone, but that of the civilized world.

The number of Members on the Roll was announced in the Report for the year 1883, read at the Anniversary Meeting held 8th January, 1884, as being 662. The flow of candidates for election continues in a most satisfactory manner, replacing the regretted losses by death and other From the following figures it will be observed that the strength of the Society has increased; and as the interest in the subjects embraced by the Society steadily increases, it may be anticipated that the number of members will certainly be enlarged.

The Roll now comprises :-

Ordinary Members .	••••	••••	••••	***	606
Public Libraries		••••	••••	••••	43
Foreign Honorary Memb	••••	••••	••••	34	
	To	otal	••••	683	

In the communications submitted to the Society in the form of both papers and letters printed in the Proceedings, the language and antiquities of ancient Babylonia and Assyria naturally form a large portion. The mounds scattered about the plains of Mesopotamia have yielded many valuable records. Time and care only is able to make them available to students, but some of more than ordinary value have appeared during the past year in the publications of the Society, and attention may be well called to them now. Mr. Theo. G. Pinches and Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, in a paper of which they are the joint authors, translated and commented upon an Edict of Nebuchadnezzar I, circa B.C. 1150, engraved upon a stone discovered by Mr. Rassam at Abû-habbah. It was printed in full with the cuneiform text in the Proceedings for April. Again, the

same writers submitted a paper on Some New Texts in the Babylonian Character, relating principally to the restoration of temples.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches communicated a list of the Babylonian kings of the Second Period, about B.C. 2232 to the end of the existence of the kingdom; a continuation from the same author will shortly be published.

To Mr. Budge we are indebted for a paper on the Fourth Tablet of the Creation Series, relating to the fight between Marduk and Tiamat.

Again, Mr. Pinches read a paper on Babylonian Art, illustrated by Mr. H. Rassam's latest discoveries, in which he pointed out some new facts to be gleaned from the study of the smaller remains of that ancient period.

Professor Sayce adds to the series already published by Dr. Birch translations of a large number of Greek ostraka collected by him at Erment and Karnak, together with copies of the Kypriote Graffiti at Abydos.

Dr. John P. Peters, in a paper read in February, contended that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from the Babylonians. It gave rise to an interesting discussion, the principal objections of Dr. Isaac Taylor to the theory being embodied in a lengthy communication, which was followed by a reply from Dr. Peters.

Of the papers bearing directly on the antiquities of Egypt, some of considerable value and interest have been submitted, which will be printed with illustrations. From Dr. Birch (*President*), a description of some Egyptian Rituals of the Roman Period, of which I am happy to be able to state, owing to his kindness, a series of facsimiles will be published, with descriptions by himself, in the future numbers of the *Proceedings* during the present year. From the same author, the Egyptian Belief concerning the Shadow or Shade. Translations of some papyri preserved in the Museum at Edinburgh, and kindly placed at the disposal of the Society by the Secretary of the Science and Art Department. A note recording the desecration of a tomb during the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty, and a record of the amount of work done by an Egyptian artist in a given period.

To Mr. Renouf we are indebted for a paper entitled Some Religious Texts of the Early Egyptian Period preserved in the Hieratic Papyri of the British Museum, in which he records an interesting discovery he made whilst collating the various texts, and throwing considerable light on the age and forms of ritual recorded in the papyri.

Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, who has already read several translations of Assyrian Texts before the Society, has taken a new departure, and by translating a series of *stelæ*, principally of the XVIIIth dynasty, has shown a desire to attach himself also to the list of English Egyptologists, and is prepared to produce original work.

Among the papers on other subjects, not necessarily dealing exclusively with chronology or history, may be mentioned that by Mr. Rassam,

entitled Biblical Nationalities Past and Present; Dr. S. Louis, on the Handicrafts and Artizans mentioned in Talmudical Writings; by the Rev. A. Löwy, on Technological Terms in Ancient Semitic Culture and Folk-lore; and a paper by Dr. Chotzner on the Life and Social Position of Hebrew Women in Biblical Times, followed by remarks by the Rev. J. Marshall.

The two parts of the *Transactions* issued in the early part of last year contained a number of papers of peculiar interest. Facsimiles will be found of the two valuable documents written in Demotic, and translated by M. Eugene Revillout. They are the curses of a Pagan mother on her son having embraced Christianity, and two deeds refering to a marriage of the time of Darius. By Dr. Sigmund Louis a valuable collection of facts bearing upon and explaining the Poor Laws of the ancient Hebrews. It will be remembered that in former volumes of the *Transactions* the Rev. W. Houghton described the Mammalia of Ancient Assyria; here in the same admirable manner he has described the Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records. In a lengthy paper he brings to bear on the subject both his knowledge of ornithology and Assyriology, which, with the illustrations, including almost all the representations known, forms a monograph, and a fitting continuation of the Work for which the Society was already indebted to him.

The President in describing an Egyptian Tablet in the British Museum relating to two Architects, living at the time of Amemophis III, of the XVIIIth Dynasty, has given much valuable information about funeral tablets or *stelæ* and the texts engraved upon them. The names of some of the Egyptian Architects have come down to us, and to his paper Dr. Birch has added a list of the principal and most celebrated members of this profession, or as they are called, "Superintendents of Works."

Mr. Pinches, in describing the antiquities found by Mr. Rassam at Abû-habbah, the site of ancient Sippara, gives a number of careful notes on the tablet of the Temple of the Sun-god, of which a plate is added. His communication is followed by one by the discoverer of the antiquities, Mr. Rassam, entitled Recent Discoveries of Ancient Babylonian Cities.

Mr. P. le Page Renouf in his paper Egyptian Mythology, particularly with reference to Mist and Cloud, explains some very interesting and curious points in the early belief based upon natural phenomena. The instructive texts translated and commented on by Mr. George Bertin, enlarge our knowledge on Akkadian precepts for the conduct of man in his private life, and Mr. Pinches in his paper on Babylonian Legal Documents referring to House Property and the Law of Inheritance, has collected together, translated, and carefully edited a number of interesting tablets, throwing considerable light on the laws and customs of ancient Assyria.

The third and completing part of this volume of the Transactions,

some of which is already in type, will be issued to members in the early part of the present year. It will contain besides some of those papers not already printed and read during the last session, one or two of those submitted to the Society during the present session, thus bringing the publications almost up to date.

In a former paragraph I have mentioned some of the more lengthy communications printed in the *Proceedings*; I have again, with considerable pleasure, to point out that the numbers of this portion of the publications of the Society during the past year, when collected together, form a volume exceeding in bulk a part of the *Transactions*, and have necessarily demanded a greater outlay. It is very gratifying to be thus able to record the kindness of the many friends who have so willingly contributed towards realizing the intention for which the series was commenced.

Many and various are the letters printed. Through the kindness of our President the Council were enabled to publish the whole of the series of Hypocephali preserved in the British Museum, of which I made careful facsimiles. M. de Horrack was kind enough to add another from the Louvre, with a translation and description; and a beautiful example, probably one of the finest known, was generously placed at our disposal by its possessor, Sir Hy. B. Meux, Bart. I can only regret that their example was not followed by others; but few have been published elsewhere, and a continuation of this series, with translations and notes such as those added by Dr. Birch, could not help being of service to students of Egyptology. With this object, I need hardly say that the communication of further examples will be gladly welcomed.

The valuable communications of Mr. Renouf discuss some of the Egyptian Prepositions and Particles; the Bow in the Egyptian Sky; one of the Egyptian gods the name of which was hitherto uncertain; the Egyptian origin of the Hebrew word Cherub, a curious collation of texts throwing light on the Egyptian word for battle, and the mention of the horse in the Book of the Dead.

Miss Gonino describes a beautiful inlaid bronze statue of Osorkon I, in the possession of Professor Lanzone. Dr. A. Wiedemann, besides a number of objects found in Egypt with Greek inscriptions, translates some Greek ostraka found at Elephantiné. Dr. Birch adds a Greek inscription from Zagazig, and Professor Sayce publishes some new Cypriote inscriptions from Abydos and Thebes.

Professor W. Wright, LL.D., translates the Samaritan inscription preserved at Leeds, for a knowledge of which we are indebted to Mr. John Holmes, and describes an interesting series of busts and inscriptions from Palmyra. A large number of communications, including a discussion of some interesting points in the decipherment of cuneiform, will be found from Professor Sayce, Dr. Oppert, M. Menant, Mr. George Bertin, and Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, including one on the use of the Falcon in ancient Assyria, and Part II of his Papers on Assyrian

Grammar, dealing with the Permansive and other forms, and some documents relating to slave dealing in Babylonia in ancient times, and others.

For Phoenician and Hebrew we are indebted to Professor W. Wright, LL.D., for the translation of an inscription in private possession at Cardiff, and to M. Phillippe Berger and M. Clermont-Ganneau, the latter also describing an interesting carved altar found on Mount Gerizim. The Rev. H. Reichardt publishes the cylinder with a Phoenician inscription in his own collection, and exhibited by him to the Society. Dr. Chotzner calls attention to some curious points in Hebrew poetry.

Of "Hittite" inscriptions there has been but little to record. Owing to the kindness of M. Schlumberger, I was enabled to publish the whole of the terra-cotta seals in his collection. To General Crawford I was indebted for the use of his sketch of the now destroyed Aleppo inscription, a drawing which I cannot but consider with the late George Smith to be the most correct of any that I have seen. A small gem brought from Nineveh by Sir Henry Layard will be found engraved and described in the May *Proceedings*. It is interesting as bearing certain characters found on the "Hittite" inscriptions in the same connexion, which appears not to be the case with the other seals known. The characters have been assumed to be a name, and have been variously translated according to the imagination of the decipherers.

The Library still continues to increase in value and usefulness, and it has been a subject for sincere gratification to be able to announce each month the many valuable donations from the learned societies, authors, and friends. A much larger number of books than heretofore have, as funds would allow, been purchased by the Council. It must be remembered, however, that the amount available for this purpose, as has been already pointed out, is necessarily small, and many works required by students are still absent, and many subjects very far from complete in their series. It is therefore to be hoped that Members will still continue to assist in placing such works as may be required within the reach of those who may have few other opportunities of using them.

The audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the funds available for the year 1884 have been £965 8s. 8d., and the expenditure in the like period £905 11s. 5d., the balance brought forward from 1883 having been £226 12s. 7d. The balance carried forward to the current year 1885 is £59 17s. 3d.

The Report and Balance-sheet having been adopted, the Rev. Canon Beechey proposed, and the Rev. A. Löwy seconded, a vote of thanks to the President and Secretary for their valuable services to the Society during the past year, to which Dr. Birch and Mr. W. H. Rylands replied.

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Audited and found correct, January 10th, 1885.

" Balance brought forward

WILLIAM H. WHITE. GEORGE MACLARAN.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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LIABILITIES.

Printing, Rent, and Current Expenses, accruing for 1885. Printing Vol. VIII, Part 3, in progress,

W. HARRY RYLANDS, Secretary.

II, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C., January 13th, 1885.

The Transactions in stock. Reserve Fund in New Three per Cent. Annuities, £123 14s. 3d.

Subscriptions still outstanding for 1884. Library Furniture and Effects at 11, Hart Street.

ASSETS.

The following Officers and Council for the current year were elected:—

COUNCIL 1885.

President.

S. BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., &c.

Vice-Presidents.

REV. FREDERICK CHARLES COOK, M.A., Canon of Exeter.
REV. GEORGE CURREY, D.D., Master of the Charterhouse.
SIR HARDINGE STANLEY GIFFARD, M.P., Q.C., &c.
THE RIGHT HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., D.C.L., &c.
SIR A. H. LAYARD, K.C.B., &c.
THE RIGHT REV. J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., &c., BISHOP OF DURHAM.
WALTER MORRISON.
CHARLES T. NEWTON, C.B., D.C.L.
SIR CHARLES NICHOLSON, BART., D.C.L., M.D.
REV. GEORGE RAWLINSON, D.D., Canon of Canterbury.
SIR HENRY C. RAWLINSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., F.R.S., &c.
VERY REV. ROBERT PAYNE SMITH, Dean of Canterbury.

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Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A.
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Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D.
Thomas Christy, F.L.S.
Robert N. Cust, F.R.A.S.
Charles Harrison, F.S.A.
Rev. Albert Löwy.

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F. G. HILTON PRICE, F.S.A.
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REV. W. WRIGHT, D.D.

Honorary Treasurer.
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Secretary.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A.

Hon. Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

Professor A. H. Sayce, M.A.

Honorary Librarian.
WILLIAM SIMPSON, F.R.G.S.

Mr. Theo. G. Pinches read a Paper entitled—

THE EARLY BABYLONIAN KING-LISTS.

(Continued from Vol. VI, page 204.)

The Kings of the Mythical period.—A mythical Sargon before Sargon of Agadé.—The original form of the name of Sargon.—Tabiatli-Bêl of Niffer.—The "twofold king."—Sargon the mythical and his connection with Sargon the historical.

When, in the *Proceedings* for November, 1882, I gave the result of my examination of the records of the Babylonian chronologist-king, Nabonidus, I saw, even then, no reason to doubt the correctness of the statement given, that Narâm-Sin, son of Sargon of Agadé, had reigned at the very early date 3200 years before the time of Nabonidus. Still less is there reason, with the evidence furnished by the Babylonian Canon * before one's eyes, to call that statement in question now; for by the documents which have come down to us, it is certain that the Babylonians had sufficient data to enable them to draw up a fairly exact chronology from the very earliest historical times. This very Babylonian Canon also, forces me, by its completeness, to go back to the opinions upon early Babylonian chronology which I held when I gave out, before the Society, the older list of Babylonian kings in January, 1881.†

In my notes upon the older list, when comparing certain parts of it giving, with several changes and omissions, the same royal names as are found in the Babylonian Canon, I remarked that, though it was possible that we had here the same list of kings, given from different points of view, yet I thought that the likeness in these two lists, in that particular passage, must be taken as remarkable coincidences, and nothing more. Several scholars, however, in consequence of the recurrence of the names of these and other known Babylonian kings, in groups, were of opinion that the older list contained the same names as the later, only arranged partly according to the divine names which occurred in them, partly according to the language in which the names were written, but not chronologically.‡ It may or may not be the case, that the names

^{*} In the Proceedings for May, 1884. † In the Proceedings for that date.

[‡] See Fritz Hommel, "Die Semitischen Völker und Sprachen" (Leipzig: Otto Schultze, 1883), pp. 336-339; and Fried. Delitzsch's notes upon Mürdter's "Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens," p. 278.

are thus arranged, but there is one thing that seems certain, namely, that this list, notwithstanding that it contains some of the names which are in the Babylonian Canon, is really a different work altogether. It gives, even in its incomplete state, too many names to fill up the gaps in the Canon. The most probable explanation is, that it contains the names of the kings of the mythical period (a supposition which the mention of the Flood seems to confirm), whose existence, however, may have had some foundation in fact. This older list I would place even before the tablet which, as we know from the fuller but more fragmentary text of the Canon published by Mr. G. Smith in the third volume of the Transactions of this Society, preceded the tablet of the Canon which I gave in the Proceedings for May last. Two additional indications of the mythical nature of the older list may here be cited.

The first indication is given by the name of the Babylonian king Sargon, which we find under the following forms:—

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translated by

The mace-head inscription:

M. de Clercq's Cylinder:

Cylinder of Nabonidus:

Other forms, used, as a rule, for Sargon of Assyria.

(Assyrian | Simple | Sarrule | Sarrule
```

All these forms, except those for the mace-head inscription and the cylinder of M. de Clercq, begin with the sign (Assyrian or (A, in Assyrian Sarru, "king," the character or being pronounced lugal, and, most likely, also sar, in Akkadian (probably borrowed from the Semitic Babylonian, or Assyrian sarru). The character (is a very common ideograph for Samas, the sungod, and the seemingly comparatively late meaning of "king"

^{*} Proceedings for November, 1883, p. 11.

appears to have arisen from the fact that one of the titles of Babylonian and Assyrian kings was "the sun of his country."

and this is translated by the Assyrian phrase:-

that is: "remove the root from a reed which grows on the mountain" (to make medicine for a sick man).

The meaning of $\neg [1] \triangleleft \uparrow \uparrow$, generally shortened to $\neg [1] \triangleleft , gi(n)$, is "reed" (Assyrian kanû), and from the idea of the firmness and uprightness of a reed comes that of "to fix," in Assyrian kânu (Heb. $|1\rangle$). $\neg [1] \triangleleft \downarrow \uparrow \uparrow$, gi-na, is the usual way of writing this root,

but it could also be expressed by [7], pronounced gin or gen, the archaic form of which character shows clearly the figure of a foot, and gets its meaning of "to walk," and "to fix," from the idea of "setting down the foot." The last form of the name of Sargon given in the above list is purely Semitic, and is to be read Sarru-ukin, "the king has fixed," "instituted."

From the above remarks it will be seen that the true ancient form of the late Akkadian Sar-gina must have been Sar-gana, to which form the name of Sar-gani of Agadé comes exceedingly close, and with which the Tip of the Bible agrees exactly.

The presence of the prefix for a god * (late Babylonian >+) implies, in my opinion, that the king who bore this name was named after some ancient hero afterwards deified, for although the king was regarded as a divine personage, yet it was more as a representative of the gods than as a god, or even a half-god, that he was looked upon and honoured.* If, therefore, Sargon the first, like the hero Gištubar, whose name appears sometimes with, sometimes without the divine prefix, were afterwards, as is very likely, deified, this is also some evidence of the mythical nature of the older list, pointing it out as a distinct document from the Canon.

One of the tablets published in W.A.I., IV, and bearing the following colophon: "2nd tablet (of the series beginning)...-lul, lord of deep wisdom," is a remarkable and very important text. It begins with the reflections of some ancient hero who, looking on the land and the people around him, saw on all sides nothing but evil. The ruler (as it seems) broke off prayer and discontinued supplication, did not teach his people reverence and honour, and did not himself call upon God. He, however (the speaker) was wise; the day for the worship of the gods was the delight of his heart, and the prayer of a king—that was joy. The writer goes on for several lines in the same strain, and speaks of one who had learnt the glorious path of the god who "in the earth lived, died, renewed (himself)."

^{*} In my Historical Introduction to the Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery, I silently expressed this opinion by calling Sargon of Agadé "Sargon II," and Hammurabi, son of Sin-muballit, "Hammurabi II." Shortly after the completion of this Introduction the last part of Dr. Hommel's "Semitischen Völker und Sprachen" appeared, in the "Nachschrift" of which I read, with the greatest pleasure, his opinion that "Lugal-girinna (=Lugal-ginna or Sar-gīna) is evidently another than Sargon of Agadî." As his preface is dated the 31st of July, 1883, he must have come to this conclusion quite independently.

himself; his goddess had not mercy on him, and did not go by his side. But suddenly his tone changes: "Open the high place," he says, "they have granted my prayer (?): until there be no more death, and weeping cease,"* and after a few more lines the tablet comes to an end. This was considered by the Assyrians or Babylonians important enough to have a kind of running glossary, in which all the difficult or unusual words are explained by others better known; the system being to write the whole line, and then take the difficult word or words, and writing them down separately, put beside them the explaining words, sometimes separated by the division-mark (\$\frac{x}{2}\$), sometimes not.

Now the name of the king Tâbi-ûtli-Bêl is given by the oldest list of kings (*Proceedings* for January, 1881, p. 39, l. 16; and W. A. I., V, pl. 44, l. 17) as follows:—

showing that Tâbi-ûlli-Bêl is the Semitic Babylonian translation of Ku-ur-Alima, the Akkadian form of the name.

This very same name is also given by the text containing explanations of the difficult words occurring in the series containing the legend of "...-lul, lord of deep wisdom" (W.A.I., V, pl. 47, l. 5), as follows:—

which is given thus to inform the reader that the Semitic Babylonian, or Assyrian name of "Ku-ur-Alima dwelling in Niffer" is "Ṭâbiûtul-Bêl."†

It must have been in the third of the series that the name of Tâbi-ûtul-Bêl occurred, and of this text we have only such extracts as are furnished us by the tablet containing explanations of the

^{*} Compare Revelations, xxi, 4.

[†] The reading of kn as the pronunciation of is taken from the Syllabary, S. 230 (Delitzsch, "Lesestücke," p. 52), where $\sum_{i=1}^{n}$ has the pronunciation of $k\bar{u}$ in Akkadian, and matku, "sweet," in Assyrian. Compare also W.A.I., V, pl. 23, l. 12, where the same character, reduplicated, is given with

difficult words. The character of the text which we have, is, as has been already shown, distinctly mythical, and if Țâbi ûtul-Bêl be a more or less mythical personage, equally mythical is the Sargon of the oldest list of kings, and mythical, also, are all the names mentioned with his.

When describing the Mace-head Inscription of Sargani,* I noted that Sargon bore the surname of *Dadrum*, and that this surname was expressed by the Babylonian sign for king repeated twice. The passage containing this explanation will be found in W.A.I. II, pl. 48, col. 1, l. 40, and is given as follows:—

The scribe has not reproduced the ancient Babylonian signs for king very well, as he has left out, in the upper character, two of the wedges, which however duly appear in the lower, whilst the upper character has, rightly, a slanting wedge which is made straight in the lower, the scribe having been, seemingly, influenced by the Assyrian form (The group in the Assyrian scribe's copy probably appeared as The explanation attached to the sign is, "Sargon, king of righteousness, pronouncer of righteousness, pronouncer of happiness."

^{*} Proceedings for November, 1883, p. 13.

I do not think that it will be regarded as strained or forced if we take the literal meaning of the group given above and translate it as "the twofold king;" and the explanation of this phrase which I would suggest is, that there was a legend in Babylonia that the mythical half-deified Sargon would come and rule again, and that when the celebrated conqueror Sargani arose in 3,800 B.C., people naturally said that this must be he. Hence the change of his name (which occurred probably towards the end of his reign) from Sargani to Sargina or Šarru-ukîn, and hence the thoroughly correct Hebrew form Sargon instead of Sargon. Whether the characters EYYY on the Mace-head refer to this or not is very uncertain, but not altogether improbable, and if so, they are probably to be transcribed sarru sukkallu, "the king, the messenger," or "the messenger king." The prince Bin-gani, however, seems to have borne the same title (see M. J. Ménant's article upon the cylinder bearing his name, in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, December 1st, 1879, and the reproduction published by him in his "Recherches sur la Glyptique Orientale," pl. 1, No. 1).

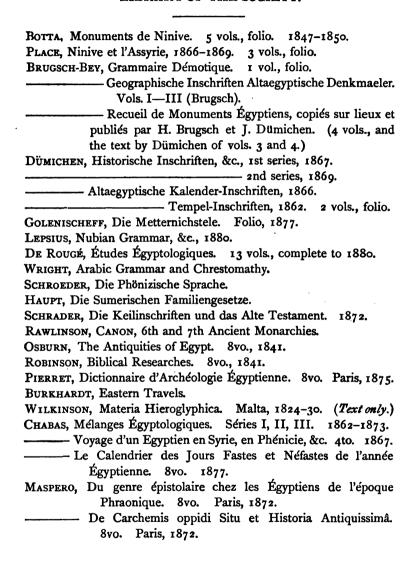
(To be continued.)

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, February 3rd, 1885, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. Notes on the Antiquities from Bubastis, in the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A., &c.
 - II. PROF. SAVCE: -- "The Carian Language and Inscriptions."

[AN. 13]

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.



NOTICES.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 73, Lombard Street, E.C.

PAPERS proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

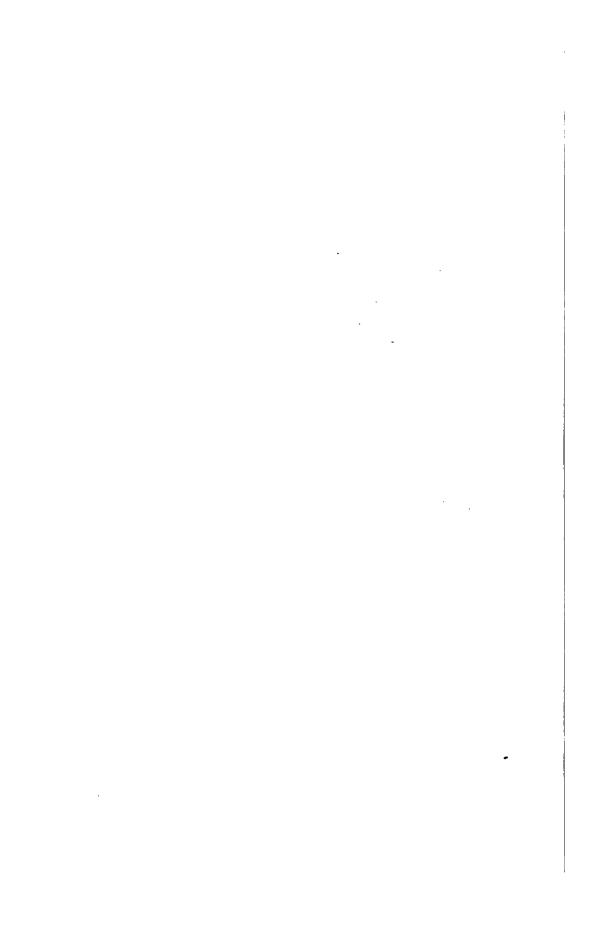
Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary

Vol. VIII, Part 3, of the "Transactions" of the Society will be issued during the early part of the year. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. HARRY RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, when the Secretary is in attendance to transact the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.



PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Fourth Meeting, 3rd February, 1885.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Royal Society:—Proceedings. Vol. XXXVII. No. 234. London. 8vo. 1884.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1884-5. No. 7. 4to. London. 1885.
- From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland:— The Journal. New Series. Vol. XVII. Part 1. January, 1885. 8vo. London.
- From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres:—
 . Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année 1884. Quatrième série. Tome XII. Bulletin de Juillet Août Septembre. 8vo. Paris. 1884.
- From Johns Hopkins University:—Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Third Series, No. 1. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.

[No. LI.]

- From the Author:—Index Alphabétique de tous les Mots contenus dans le Livre des Morts. Par J. Lieblein. 8vo. Paris. 1875.
- From H. Rassam:—Ecclesiastical History. The Life of the Emperor Constantine, in Four Books. By Eusebius Pamphilus. 8vo. London. Samuel Bagster and Sons. 1845.
- From the Author:—En Papyrus i Turin, for förste Gang udgivet og oversat. Af J. Lieblein.
 - Sarskilt aftrykt af Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger for 1875. 8vo.
- From the Author:—Ægypternes Forestilling om Jordens Bevægelse.

 Af J. Lieblein. 8vo.
- From the Author:—Ueber Altägyptische Religion. Von J. Lieblein.

 Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6º session du Congrès
 International des Orientalistes à Leide. 8vo. Liede. 1884.
- From the Author:—Étude sur les Xétas. Par J. Lieblein.
 Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 3º session du Congrès
 International des Orientalistes. 8vo. Leide. 1878.
- From the Author:—Ægypternes Lære om Sjælens udödelighed og Tilstand i det andet liv. Af. Lieblein. 8vo. Stockholm. 1880.
- From the Author:—Om Lagekunsten Hos de Gamle Ägyptere. Af]. Lieblein.
 - Aftryk fra Nord. Med. Arkiv., 1880, band XII, n:r. 11. 8vo. Stockholm. 1880.
- From the Author:—Egyptian Religion. By J. Lieblein. 8vo. Leipzig. 1884.
- From the Author:—Gammelægyptisk Religion Populært Fremstillet. Af J. Lieblein. Første Del. Gudsbergrebets Udvikling. 8vo. Kristiania. 1883.
- From the Author:—Gammelægyptisk Religion. Populært Fremstillet. Af J. Lieblein. Anden Del. Folkereligionen. 8vc. Kristiania. 1884.
- From the Author:—Deux Papyrus Hieratiques du Musée de Turin. Publiés en Fac-Simile. Par J. Lieblein. Avec la traduction et l'analyse de l'un de ces deux papyrus par M. F. Chabas. 8vo. Christiania. 1868.

From the Author:—Die Aegyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala, und Copenhagen. Von J. Lieblein. 8vo. Christiania. 1873.

From the Author:—Sur l'Origine des Colonnes de la Salle des Caryatides du Grand Temple de Karnak. Par le Dr. Karl Piehl. Tiré du Vol. II des Travaux de la 6º session du Congrês International des Orientalistes à Leide. 8vo. Leide. 1884.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on January 13th:—

Miss Sophia Foster, 17, Bateman Street, Cambridge.

Professor F. A. Gast, Lancaster, Pa., U.S.A.

Rev. William Page, B.A., The Manse, Upper Mall, Hammersmith.

Rev. A. Thursby Pelham, Cound Rectory, Shrewsbury.

Rev. William Kingdon Rowe, 3, Streatham Place, Brixton Hill, S.W.

Miss Williams, 3, Hillgrove Road, South Hampstead.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Central Park, New York, U.S.A.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on March 3rd, 1885:—

Rev. W. Crosby Barlow, M.A., Camberwell, S.E.

Rev. Thomas Brown, College Manse, Perth.

W. T. Haydon, Dover.

A Paper entitled, "Notes on the Antiquities from Bubastis, in the Collection of F. G. Hilton Price, F.S.A.," was read by the Author:—

It was explained that the collection now described was discovered in or about the large mounds now called Tel Basta, and marking the site of the ancient Egyptian city of Bubastis. The ruins of the capital of the Bubastite Nome are situated to the south west of Tanis, upon the eastern side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, near the modern town of Zagazig.

Bubastis was a city of considerable importance as early as the time of the eighteenth dynasty, but increased in both size and

magnificence under the kings of the twenty-second dynasty, and was at that time probably the most considerable place in the Delta. After the conquest of the Persians (B.C. 352), who dismantled its walls, the town was, as is proved by the antiquities discovered in the ruins, evidently occupied by the Greeks and Romans.

The cat or lion-headed goddess Bast, or Sekhet, was the tutelary To her all cats were sacred, and after death were mummied and deposited in the tombs connected with her temple, which, as Herodotus informs us, was very magnificent, and occupied a prominent position in the centre of the city. The somewhat careful description of Herodotus, including that of the oracle of Bast, as well as the city, were quoted by Mr. Price, and after a few notes on the special worship of the goddess as connected with the mythology of Ancient Egypt, he commenced his description of the antiquities. The arrangement taken by Dr. Birch, in his catalogue of the Alnwick Collection, was that followed. The pantheon first, secondly the animals, followed by the symbolic or mystic eyes, the domestic or civil antiquities, the amulets, the sepulchral objects, the terra-cotta figures, lamps, vases, &c. The scarabæi, of which a large quantity have been discovered at Tel Basta, were reserved for a future communication.

The figures of the gods most commonly met with are, as may be supposed, principally those bearing some relation to the goddess Bast, as being the great deity of the city—viz., Ptah, Bast, Neferatum, Shu, Thoth, Isis, Osiris, Harpocrates, Anubis, Bes, and Tauer. After having examined the peculiarities of the statuettes of the gods in the collection, Mr. Price passed on to the animals, of which a large number of figures have been found, the cat naturally occupying a very prominent position, the others being the monkey, ram, and hawk.

Figures of the jackal are very rare, but there was the top of a jackal standard in bronze. A few bulls had been found, represented walking, wearing the disc and uræus. The oryx was one of the rarest animals from this site, Mr. Price stated that he had never had more than two, one in blue porcelain, and another of bronze. Another rare animal was the hippopotamus, sacred to Bes and Taur; he had only one small figure in white stone, with a ring upon its neck for suspension. One example also in blue porcelain of the crocodile, roughly worked, and one frog.

The symbolic eyes were next dealt with, one of the commonest objects, as stated by Dr. Birch, of the toilet: supposed to represent the eye of the cow, sacred to Athor; the right eye was the symbol of the sun, and the left of the moon. These objects were used for various purposes, generally in the form of ornaments, such as pendants to necklaces, bracelets, or finger rings, nearly all being either pierced or supplied with a ring for attachment. Many of the coarser or more flimsy specimens were doubtless employed for the ornamentation of the outer network of mummies.

Upon examining his series, Mr. Price mentioned that he found nearly all the examples to represent the right eye, or emblem of the Thirty-four are double or reversible, possibly a combination of the sun and moon; five only are left eyes, or symbols of the moon; whereas ten are combinations of two pairs of eyes, emblematical of the four points of the compass. The greater number are of blue porcelain but some are of granite, lapis-lazuli, and carnelian. The most remarkable example in the collection is a rectangular plate of blue porcelain with a right eye; in the centre of the pupil is a figure of Ptah-Socharis Osiris as the pigmy dwarf; on the right side of the pupil in the tunic of the eye are two hawks, and on the left hand side of it two objects too indistinct to make out; upon the drop of the eye is an ibis in the attitude of walking upwards. eye-brow is well marked; this plate is imperforate, and has probably been inlaid in some precious metal. Other examples of these plates bearing symbolical figures were described, followed by some elaborate specimens of the double eyes.

Continuing the civil section, Mr. Price described the articles of the toilet in his collection from Tel Basta, which he stated were comparatively few in number. They included beads of various colours, materials, and shapes—scarabæi, heads of animals such as the cow, lion, and cat, pendants in the form of the head of Bes, and the head of Athor, etc., etc. A few finger rings, gold, silver, and bronze, as well as models of finger rings placed upon the wooden hands of mummies; a gold bracelet of twisted wire, spindle whorls, stibium cases, small glass bottles of the Roman period, and an elegant little bowl in blue porcelain, with a lip for pouring, and two couchant lions as ornaments; draughtsmen of various shapes and materials, a sistrum, palettes, bronze hooks, bronze arrow heads, javelins, axes, and hoes, etc., etc. One of the most recent acquisi-

tions was a fine alabastron of alabaster, twelve inches in height, in a perfect condition, and hence rarely to be obtained from any part.

Attention was next called to some specimens of sculpture, a female head of marvellously fine work carved upon a block of basalt, probably a portrait of some queen; being complete in itself, it could not have formed a portion of any wall sculpture; Mr. Price supposed it to be a sculptor's model. Other examples were referred to and described at length, and Mr. Price then passed on to the objects in the sepulchral section, compartively few in number.

Commencing with the fine set of Canopic vases exhibited before the Society, and described by Dr. Birch (*Proceedings*, April, 1883), the list included the small rectangular cases in bronze for the mummies of small animals, recumbent figures in terra-cotta (which rarely occur), masks of the same material (Roman period), shabti, of which there were only ten, stelze of stone and wood, with a large number of amulets and emblems probably from the coverings of mummies.

Tel Basta, it was stated, appeared to be rich in terra-cotta figures, those in Mr. Price's collection being chiefly of the Roman period. The greater number represent Harpocrates, but those of Bes or Bessa are also of frequent occurrence; figures of Venus, Anadyomene, Eros, Jupiter Serapis, Minerva. A small temple or naos, only 4 inches in height, was also described, possibly intended for a lantern, or niche for a lamp.

The lamps, like all those found in Egypt, date from the Greek or Roman period; they include examples of various forms, bronze lamps being rarely met with at Bubastis. Mr. Price pointed out the curious degeneration of patterns on the terra-cotta lamps, and the strange forms developed from a simple design.

Moulds, chiefly of terra-cotta, used in casting a variety of objects, have been found, as also jugs, vases, flasks, some of an ornamental character. Bronze coins of the Ptolemies, of different sizes, some silvered, small brass ones of the Lower Roman Empire, and tetradrachms and drachms of Athens, are among the antiquities found at Bubastis.

In concluding the long list of objects, Mr. Price said he hoped that it would give a fair idea of the kind of objects discovered in

this site, which in a general way might be considered to be typical. Large monuments, finer figures, and objects in gold had indeed been found at Bubastis, many of which could be seen in European Museums.

Remarks were added by the Rev. F. A. Walker, D.D. (who exhibited a number of bronze figures of cats and cats' heads which he had obtained from Bubastis), Rev. Canon Beechey, Rev. Dr. Wright, Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. J. Offord, Mr. P. R. Reed, and the President.

A Paper by Professor Sayce, on the "Karian Language and Inscriptions," was read by the Secretary, which will be published in the *Transactions*.

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, and the President.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.

The following are the Remarks made by Dr. Birch at the meeting held on November 4th:—

The papyri of the Museum of Edinburgh, exhibited to-night by permission of the Secretary of the Science and Art Department, were sent to London for examination at the request of our Secretary, Mr. Rylands. At the time of their removal they were not unrolled. and it is to the energy and skill of Mr. Rylands that they have been unrolled, the fragments united, and framed and glazed. In addition to this tracings have been made of them, and their publication will render them available for science. Our best thanks should be tendered to the Secretary of the Science and Art Department for the liberal spirit displayed in thus transferring for a while these objects from spots where they are not required to be detained on shelves or in cases, where they cannot be consulted, to students who can avail themselves of their contents, and the precedent and example thus nobly set, and it is to be hoped that hereafter manuscripts and books will be liberally lent to those to whom they are alone valuable, and not retained on shelves to perish in obscurity in repositories often inaccessible to distant students.

The papyri consist of two pages, part of one of the later Rituals,

not the same as the Todtenbuch of Turin, published by Lepsius, the older version of which has been prepared by M. Naville. This succeeded to the still older Ritual of the Pyramids, and the so-called Ritual was in its turn superseded by the *Sai ensin*, or Book of Respirations, which comprised a selection or abridgment of passages of the Ritual as it existed till the time of Nectanebo, or B.C. 387. The present chapters of the papyrus of Edinburgh are apparently extracts of an intermediate book which may appropriately be called the Ritual of Embalmment. The date is Ptolemaic.*

The first of these papyri consist of a page of text in later hieratic character, and begins:-"The chapter of placing the mummy of the Osiris, divine father beloved Paisetenef, to the gates of the Hades. The words of the Osiris Paisetenef: Hail thou in the region of the West, I know thy name, I save myself from the vipers of the Rusta, strengthened by the flesh of men, fed with their blood, because I know them, I know their name, illuminating the head of the entire lord (Osiris), "keeping secret his place in the darkness," is his name "the luminous spirit in Heliopolis," bringing rays of light, tasting the eating snakes in the West, hearing words, invisible he is the great one in Tattu, he has struck terror to those in repose having the remembrance of the divine block he has detained under the guidance of the entire lord, for Horus he has led his boat, he has made all the adorations appointed in the boat of the sun, he has struck terror in the gates of the Hades, he it is, Horus, who has gone, having the instructions that he goes and speaks and sees in Heliopolis, the chiefs stand to him, they amplify him the great writings of their chief seats he has tied, he has made festival in Heliopolis when he led along the heaven by his labour, the earth by his grasp, not have been taken heaven and by him the sun, chief of the gods, the moon, prince of months, elevated in heaven, the type of his son overthrowing and bruising his worms is strong in the West of the Horizon the East of the Horizon, the form of Paisetenef

There are a few lines on another fragment, but it will be seen that the language resembles much that of the ordinary or middle ritual, and that it turns on a similar idea, the leading thought being the preservation of the mummy of the deceased from the attacks of worms.

^{*} The name Paisetenef occurs on a monument at Turin. (Lieblein, Dict., 1330.)

Pl (R) (A) ru-en tat n Asar neter chapter of giving the mummy of the Osiris divine father beloved

Paistenf the under world said by the Paistenf

Paistnf Asar net her k ami ament Paistenf Hail thou attached to the region of the West Osiris

ran k reχ ma thy name I save me know from

the vipers of Rusta strengthened

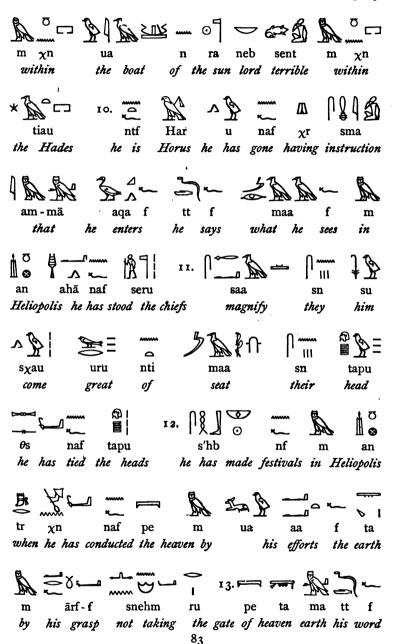
sāmi hāu by the limbs of men by

sn hr-ntt hi reχ their because I know blood them I know

tep Neberter their illuminating the head of the Entire lord keeping secret names 81



anui his ark he has given advertions all appointed



am pe
$$\chi$$
nm $s\chi r$ χrp sa in heaven festival overthrowing the form of his son

tr-tu tm f tr ret amentt
$$\chi$$
u

obliterating his worms while making to grow the West of the Horizon

m
$$\chi u$$
 χrp pai

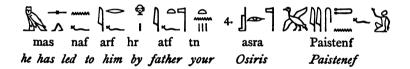
the form (in) the horizon the form of Paisetenef.

After this is another fragment too small to give a continuous sense. The second papyrus of the same person contains the chapter of depositing the mummy of the same person in the sarcophagus. It reads: "The chapter of depositing the mummy into the coffin of Paisetenef, son of fer. The words of Anubis: Oh Isis, Oh Nephthys, Oh Thoth, address ye the sunset, Tuamutef and Kabhsenuf, the sons of Horus, has been introduced by your father, the Osiris Paisetenef, mount ye up to him, do not depart ye from him, transport ye his excellent parts to his mother Nut (the heaven); she raises her hands to him, inclining her heart extended at her coming forth, he goes into the depths, he comes forth adoring in the morning like the sun daily above he goes in thy road, the Osiris Paisetenef, thou hast made (the sun) his light, for thou hast pierced his beams.









nini ab-s pest n per am s (?) aqa f laying down her heart stretched in coming forth from her he goes in

The texts and translations of these chapters are given by M. Pleyte in his Chapitres supplementaires au livre des Morts; 4to., Leide, 1884, p. 171 and following; from which it appears that they formed some of the six chapters entitled, "the supplementary section of the book of the burial." The first of these, which he calls chapter 170, is the second of those above given of the papyri of Edinburgh. The second of the Edinburgh, which is fuller than that given by him, is chapter 172.

Two other papyri are extracts from Rituals of the Roman period, about the first century A.D., to judge from the coarse style of palæography in which they are written, which resembles that of the period, and in which may be recognized expressions taken from the Ritual. The first, which consists of only six lines, with an endorsement, is for a deceased Pamentuaa, and reads: "Said to Pmentuaa justified I am the sun in his rising, Atum in his setting, Osiris, ruler of the West, great god, lords of Abydos, detain ye the of the detainers of the Tiau (Hades or Underworld), have opened to me the keepers of the abode of the mystical boat. Receive ye the excellency from the keepers of the hall of the two truths, guard ye the mother

of the Tiau. Thou hast come to Tattu, thou hast returned to Abydos, thou hast received for the peace of the transport of the Tiau thy soul lives is thy body strong for ever."

The endorsement reads: "The good burial established."

There are the ordinary ideas of the period, the life of the soul, and the youth or renewal of the body, and a few common expressions about sunrise and sunset.



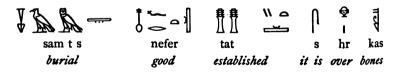
na sbau n us
$$\chi$$
 ma

the detainers of the hall (of)

Truth

au htep ts
$$\chi$$
nt Tiau an χ bak art thou at rest liftest ... of the Hades thy soul lives

Endorsement.



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renpa	s	hr auf	
by grow	th it	over his flesh	

Another papyrus is also of the Roman period, has a formula that is often repeated on others of the Roman period, invoking that the name of the deceased may flourish like those of certain deities.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

Mr. Greville Chester has lately obtained two more Greek ostraka from Karnak, dated in the fifth year of Domitian, which I read as follows:—

Γερμανος Μενεφρωνος
και Φμοις Φθουμεινιος
τελ^υ ηπ^γ του ε L
Ψενμωνθης Παναμεως
απεχ^ω παρα σου το τελ
εως μεσορη α λυπαι δραχμων
δυο — < β εις πληρωσιν
Lε Δομιτιανου τυβι ῖ

"Germanos, son of Menephrôn, and Phmois, son of Phthumeinis, the tax-collector, of the 5th year: O Psenmônthês, son of Panameus,

I receive from you the tax up to the 1st of Mesori, the rest of the two drachmæ needed to complete the payment. The 5th year of Domitian, the 10th of Tybi."

Φμοις Φθουμεινιος και μετοχ⁵
Γερμανος Μενεφρωνος του εL
Παπα (?) Παναμευς Ερμιου απεχω
παρα σου το του θωθ φαωφι
Lε Δομιτιανου του κυριου

"Phmois, son of Phthumeinis and his coadjutor Germanos, son of Menephrôn, for the 5th year. O Papas Panameus, I receive from you the tax for Thoth and Phaophi, the 5th year of Domitian the lord."

The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, March 3rd, 1885, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. EDOUARD NAVILLE:—"The Inscription of the Destruction of Mankind, in the Tomb of Rameses III."
- II. E. A. WALLIS BUDGE:—"The History of the Coptic Martyr Isaac,"

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Fifth Meeting, 3rd March, 1885.

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq., in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXVIII. No. 235. December, 1884. 8vo. London.
- From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Archæological Journal. Vol. XLI. No. 164. 1884. 8vo. London. 1884.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:— The Journal. Vol. XIV. No. 3. February, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects —Proceedings. Session 1884–85. Nos. 8 and 9. February, 1885. 4to. London. 1885.
- From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VII. No. 2. February, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.

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From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLI. No. 161. · February 2, 1885. 8vo. London, 1885.

From the Société Royale des Antiquaries du Nord:—Aarboger, 1884. Fjeide Hefte. 8vo. Copenhagen.

From the Editor, Stephen D. Peet:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. VII. No. 1. 8vo. Chicago. 1885.

From the Corporation of the City of London:—London's Roll of Fame: being Complimentary Notes and Addresses from the City of London on presentation of the Honorary Freedom of that City, and on other occasions, to Royal Personages, Statesmen, Patriots, &c., with their replies and acknowledgements. From the close of the reign of George II, A.D. 1767 to 1884. With a Critical and Historical Introduction. 4to. London. 1884.

From the Smithsonian Institution:—Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, 1880-81. By J. W. Powell. 4to. Washington. 1883.

From the Author:—Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian Pronouns.

Reprinted from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. By G. Bertin. 8vo.

From G. Bertin:—Les Noms Phéniciens sur les Prisme D'Asshourban-apal. Par Eugène Pannier. 8vo. Amiens. 1882.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on February 3rd:—

Rev. W. Crosby Barlow, M.A., Camberwell, S.E.

Rev. Thomas Brown, Collace Manse, Perth.

W. T. Haydon, Dover.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on May 5th, 1885:—

J. Deubner, Moscow.

Rev. William H. Hechler, British Chaplain, Strassburg. James Mellis Stewart, Queen Victoria Street.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:

The Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh.

A Paper by Edouard Naville, on the "Inscription of the Destruction of Mankind in the Tomb of Rameses III," was read by the Secretary:—

Since I made known, for the first time, in 1875,* the inscription in the tomb of Seti I, describing the destruction of mankind by the gods, this text has been the object of much examination. Le Chevalier de Bergmann published it again from a copy which he took on the spot; M. Brugsch accompanied his translation of the whole with a transcription; M. Lauth has reproduced my translation, adding some corrections of his own; finally, M. Lefébure has made a comparison between a portion which he translated and a papyrus at Turin.

From information given to me by my learned confrère Dr. Stern, I have found a second example of this interesting text in the tomb of Rameses III; I copied it during a stay at Thebes in the winter of 1882, and since that time have compared and collated it with the squeezes which M. Lefébure kindly placed at my disposal, made by himself during the following year. This new version has evidently been made from the inscription in the tomb of Seti I; very few variants are found in it, but it is valuable because it supplies several of the blanks which appear in the original. The chamber of the tomb of Rameses III in which the inscription is found is in a much worse condition than that of Seti I; the stone has flaked off, having much saltpetre in its composition, and the bats have finished off that which time had a little respected. It would be impossible to make a translation from the text as it remains in the tomb of Rameses III; but I will endeavour to give to it a new interpretation. availing myself of the labours and corrections of my confrères, particularly those of M. Brugsch, and in raising one or two points in which a comparison of the two versions has shown me that this learned Egyptologist has departed from the true sense.

M. Naville adds a translation of a portion of the inscription, with notes, but he adds:—

There remains too little of the text of Rameses; the variants which are found there are not of sufficient importance to make it necessary to attempt a new translation. The inscription stops shortly in the middle of line 85 of the Seti text, because there was no more space for the scribe to write upon. We have here an

^{*} Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. IV, pp. 1-19.

example of the negligence with which the Egyptian scribes worked, The wish has been to take advantage of a little chamber at the bottom of the tomb, and to ornament it like that of Seti I. Evidently the engraving has been commenced on the wall facing the door of the beautiful celestial cow, which is the central part of the inscription; then the scribe has written the text commencing at the right of the door, without calculating the size of the signs, and without troubling himself whether the space was sufficient. Also, he had advanced no further than line 29 [Seti Inscr.] when the drawing of the cow stopped It is possible that at the same time another workman was engraving the second part of the inscription on the other side of the design, for in both tombs, after the cow, the text commences at the same place. This workman made the same mistake as the first, and the space was also too small. But what did it matter if the walls were covered? Who then will say that the exactitude of the copy may be controlled? Let us take up again the most interesting part of Ra, the king of mankind and of the gods, this curious myth. already grown old in years, perceived that men spoke against him seditious words. He calls together, then, the gods, Shu, Tefnut, Seb and Nut, as well as his father Nun, to ask counsel of them what he is to do. They induce him to send his eye, which took the form of Hathor, and which should massacre the rebels. The goddess executed the command to the satisfaction of Ra, and to compass the destruction of mankind she became Sexet, the powerful who trampled upon the blood of the guilty for several nights. At that moment Ra commands his runners to go in haste to Elephantiné to look for mandrakes, which he hands over to the miller, and to the priestesses of Elephantiné, who mix the juice of them with the blood of mankind, and make from it 7,000 vases of drink. Ra comes to see them, and enchanted with the spectacle, declares that they shall be a cause of preservation for human beings, and that henceforth he will not any more order the goddess to slay mankind. Also he spills, during the night, the liquid in the vases, which covers over the earth on all sides. In the morning the goddess comes; after having spent the night in stamping under her feet the dead bodies, she drinks with avidity, becomes intoxicated, and cannot any more see mankind, who thus escape destruction. Nevertheless, Ra feels ill, he is wearied of the society of human beings, and causes himself to be borne to heaven by Nut, who has taken the form of a cow.

Here blanks in the text prevent the perfect chapter of events being restored. Men beheld Ra pass, and it appears that before him they promise to destroy those who were his enemies. In the morning they take their bows, and pierce with their arrows the enemies of the king. Thus Ra declares to them that their faults are pardoned, and that the death of his enemies has paid their ransom. The text adds that this was the origin of sacrifices.

So in Egypt the idea which developed into the institution of sacrifices is almost the same as that of the Hebrews or the Greeks. "Death wipes out death," said the Egyptian. "Death removes the evil of death."

Mankind rebelled against their king, they were condemned to destruction; but a portion of them obtained pardon by causing those to perish who persisted in the revolt, and henceforth sacrifices commemorated an event which saved mankind from extermination. We see, under this strange form, that the Egyptian inscription contains a thought which I commend to the attention of those savants who direct their attention to the study of comparative mythology.

The translation by M. Naville, with three plates of the inscription, will be given in the next part of the *Transactions*.

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. G. A. Simcox, and the Chairman.

A Paper entitled "Notes on the Martyrdom of the Coptic Martyr Isaac of Tiphre," was read by E. A. Wallis Budge, B.A.:—

The MS. from which the Coptic text of this Martyrdom is taken is in the possession of Lord Zouch. It is written in a large and regular hand and belongs most probably to the tenth century. Some of the capitals which begin the paragraphs are illuminated, and on the tops of the pages are the short ejaculatory prayers, "God have mercy upon us, God save, God help us, God hear us," and the like. According to the colophon the MS. was written while one John was Archbishop of Alexandria, in the 115th year of the era of the Martyrs, and was presented by a monk called Father Stauros in the Monastery of Father John to the Holy Church of Elijah the Prophet. The donor entreats that everyone who reads in the MS. shall say, "May the Lord Jesus Christ show mercy unto him with all the things of this world, and when he departs from the body may He make him to lie down in the bosom

of Abraham the greatest of our fathers, with Isaac, and Jacob, and Elijah the prophet, in the kingdom of heaven." As a whole the text is very perfect, a few clerical errors, and the omission of a word or two here and there, comprising nearly all its faults.

The history of the Martyrdom of Isaac was written by a kinsman of his called Christopher, who, as he himself states, was an eye witness from the beginning to the end of his tortures and of his death, hence this contemporaneous account is peculiarly valuable. In the last century the Augustinian monk F. A. A. Giorgi published in his "De miraculis Sancti Coluthi" some excerpts from the Vatican MS. No. 66, containing the "Martyrdom of Isaac," with a Latin translation, and in the year 1810 Zoega's + Catalogue of the Coptic MSS. in the Borgian Museum appeared, containing two interesting extracts from the same source. As far as I know, however, no complete copy of the text of the Martyrdom, nor a version of the whole of it, has ever appeared. Isaac the Martyr suffered and died during the reign of Diocletian, most probably in consequence of one of the edicts issued by this Emperor in the years 303-4 A.D. It will be remembered that the first edict was issued 22nd February, 303 A.D., and the persecution of the Christians began with the demolition of the church at Nicomedia. This edict proclaimed that the lives of the Christians were to be spared if possible; but by the three edicts which followed in this and the following year, no restrictions were laid upon the ruthless and savage hands of the persecutors.

The history of Isaac's martyrdom was most probably written by Christopher shortly after it took place, and there is no doubt that a knowledge of it was general among the Egyptian Christians during the latter half of the fourth century. Lord Zouch's MS. containing the account of the martydom was copied from a MS. dated in the 115th year of the era of the Coptic Martyrs. Now this era was reckoned from 29th August, 284 A.D., therefore the original MS. was written about the year 399 A.D. For an account of the causes of the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian, see Gibbon, "Decline and Fall." London, 1854. Vol. II, pp. 264-273;

^{* &}quot;De miraculis Sancti Coluthi et reliquiis actorum Sancti Panesniv Marvrum." F. A. A. Georgii eremitæ Augustiniani. 4to. Rome, 1793.

^{† &}quot;Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum." G. Zoega. Rome, 1810.

Mosheim, "Ecclesiastical History," Vol I, p. 213 et seq. Eusebius, "De Vita Constantini," II, 51.

Isaac was a native of the village of Tiphre, in the province of Garbiah, in the Busirite nome in the Delta. When he was twentyfive years of age, one night, while he was asleep in a field by his cell, the angel of the Lord woke him up, and told him to go and confess Christ to the Governor of Taubah or Bana. The holy man bade farewell to his parents, and set out to perform the command. When he arrived at Taubah, the Governor Culcianus was in his bath. When he came out and saw Isaac, the would-be martyr cried out that he was a Christian. After some conversation, the governor gave him into the charge of a soldier called Dionysius, telling him to keep guard over him while he went to Taniati. Shortly after, on a miracle being wrought by Isaac, the soldier was converted, and on his confessing it to his lord Culcianus, he was beheaded. Isaac was then taken to Peshati or Niciu, the metropolis of the Prosopites There he was tortured by being immersed in a boiling cauldron: a miracle was wrought, however, and he was delivered from death. Culcianus now took counsel with Arianus, the Governor of Hormes, who, having seen and heard the holy man, took him away with him to Hormes, a town sixteen days' distance by ship from Taubah. In the prison of this place Isaac found two other Christians, called Philoxenus and Surine. A day or two after his arrival he was tormented with all the hideous tortures which the cultured mind of the civilised Roman had invented to terrify the unhappy Christians. During the tortures some miracles were wrought, by which Isaac was a second time delivered from death; and the people of the city made an uproar, and wished to stone their governor. Isaac was then taken by ship to Taubah, where he suffered death by the executioner's

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Rev. A. Löwy, and the Chairman.

The Rev. A. Löwy read his translation of a Paper entitled, "The Weasel and the Cat in Ancient Times." By the Rev. Dr. Placzek, Chief Rabbi of Brünn (Moravia):—

The weasel, mustela or putorius vulgaris, was in ancient times the predecessor of the cat in its functions of clearing the houses of mice and other vermin. Some nations, in view of the habits and the use

of the weasel, transferred the name of this creature to the cat; and this transfer has led to several etymological puzzles.

The Egyptian cat seems to have been a descendant of the felis maniculata. Its first ancestors have to be sought in Nubia. first effigies of the cat were depicted on the monuments of Beni Hassan, 2500 B.C. The cat was kept, inter alia, for the purpose of killing poisonous snakes. In Paraguay it is, even in the present day, employed in hunting the rattle-snake. The Egyptian cat, being a sacred animal, did not easily pass from Egypt into the possession of neighbouring Semitic nations. The biblical word choled (Lev. xi, 29), in the Aramaic version of Onkelos, chulda, is rendered "weasel." The Septuagint translates it γαλη. Etymological reasons justify these explains choled by mustela. renderings. Other Aramaic names of the weasel the author derives from Greek words.

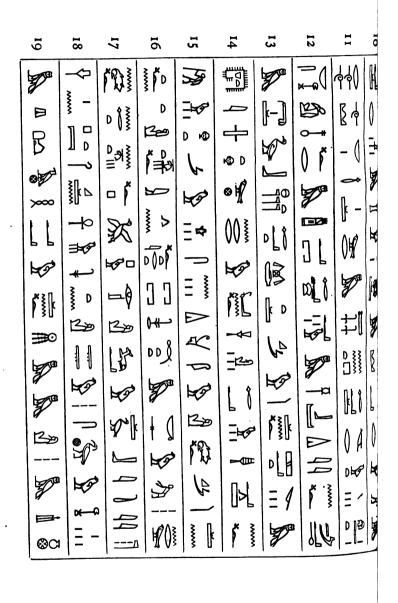
Various sections of the Talmud were cited in this paper to describe the habits and peculiarities of the weasel. The same ancient work has preserved interesting fables and legends concerning the weasel, and were well re-told by Dr. Placzek.

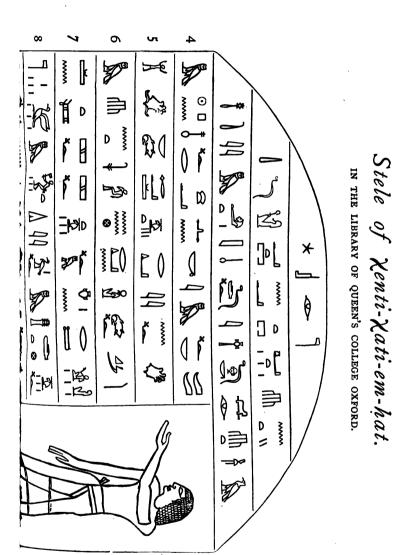
In the second century of the Christian era the cat and the weasel seem to have been kept side by side in some of the Jewish houses. The Aramaic name of the cat was shunra, whilst its Neo-Hebraic name was chathul. Some fanciful derivations of shunra occur in the ancient Jewish writings. The names of the cat, Arian and otherwise, help to indicate its migrations into different countries. Allusions to the natural history of the cat are scattered over various portions of the Talmud and the ancient expositions (the Midrashim) of the Hebrew Scriptures. These allusions were noticed in the present paper, and were highly characteristic of the tendencies of the ancients to combine the studies of nature with a strong leaning towards incredible fictions.

Throughout this essay the author has taken a comprehensive survey of the gradual distribution of the cat in various countries. At the same time he has illustrated the knowledge and the legends existing among the ancient Jews and other nations of antiquity concerning the habits of the weasel and the cat.

Remarks were added by Dr. Louis, Rev. C. J. Ball, Rev. A. Löwy, and the Chairman.

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The following Communication has been received:-

In the 54th chapter of the Book of the Dead we read: "Oh Tum! give me the delicious breath of thy nostril. I am the Egg of Nekaka-oer (the Great Cackler, Seb). I have watched this great egg which Seb prepared for the earth."

Nekaka-oer signifies, literally translated, the Great Cackler. Nekaka is evidently an onomatopoietic word in imitation of the cackle of a goose (see the Book of the Dead 82, 1; 98, 2). Nekakaoer, the great cackler, is, as may be inferred, the god Seb, undoubtedly named thus on account of the name, written with the hieroglyph , a goose, which gives the first sound of the name. I remark this as a striking example of the way the myths were originated and formed. On account of the shape of the phonetic hieroglyph, the god Seb was likened to a goose; but as it was perhaps thought improper to call the god a goose, he was named the great Nekaka, cackler, in imitation of the sound a goose To indicate his life-giving quality it was of course necessary, so as to be in accordance with the metaphor, that he should give life in the shape and by the medium of an egg. If the widespread and prevalent notion of the kosmic or kosmologic egg originated in this or a similar way, this is not the place to inquire. I will merely draw attention to the fact that we have here to do with a myth the origin of which is easily traced. It is evident that the myth which was thus once formed might be extended and continued in many ways. The sense of the quoted words of the 54th chapter is to state that the deceased is a son or descendant of Seb. We now understand how this could be expressed by saying that he was the egg of the great The following sentence is to inform us that the deceased cackler. shall preserve and keep the life which Seb has given him; this is expressed by continuing the metaphor and saying that he watches the egg which Seb has prepared to give life to the world.

Undoubtedly the same rule applies to the other metaphors and myths which occur so often in the Book of the Dead. As long as we do not understand them we think them ridiculous, unreasonable, and blasphemous; but they appear in quite another light when we have traced their origin and real meaning. But this is of course no easy task, and requires extensive and laborious research.

J. LIEBLEIN.

CHRISTIANIA, 26th January, 1885.

Note.—Since this has been in type Professor Lieblein informs me that he has just noticed (12th February) with pleasure that Brugsch, in his latest publication, expresses much the same opinion ("Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter," S. 172) with regard to the "Great Cackler." I think it necessary to add this to the above communication.—W.H.R.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. le Page Renouf:—

The Egyptian Silurus Fish and its functions in Hieroglyphics. The true phonetic value of the sign and, ideographic of Strife and War, and its homophones.

I have not yet met with any criticism upon the remarks which I made upon the value of the hieroglyphic sign of battle ___, in the Proceedings of last May. It falls therefore to my lot to demolish the conclusions which I then advocated, and to substitute others at which I have now arrived, after a more complete and accurate investigation of the entire evidence bearing upon the subject.

We have first of all a variant about which there can be no question. The royal sarcophagus No. 32 of the British Museum (see Sharpe, E. I., I, 57, line 34), in a passage of the Book of the Dead gives the equation $\prod_{i=1}^{n} \otimes = \prod_{i=1}^{n} \bigcap_{i=1}^{n} \otimes$, whence it follows that $\bigcap_{i=1}^{n} = \prod_{i=1}^{n} \bigcap_{i=1}^{n} \otimes$

Secondly, we find that a number of hieratic Rituals in the 42nd chapter give what I took for \mathbb{Q} as a variant for \mathbb{Q} And as \mathbb{Q} is ideographic of sek in the undisputed sense of "battle," I drew what seemed the necessary conclusion.

But upon comparing the different hieratic texts which give this variant, I am compelled to admit that a fish, and not (as I thought) a cord, crosses the lower part of the sign.

And this is after all quite natural, because the Egyptians had a fish which they called . But this was not the Oxyrynchus, as Brugsch supposes; for, as I said in my note, the Ebers papyrus which mentions it (pl. 47, 11) does not give it the long and sharp snout characteristic of the Oxyrynchus in the passages (pl. 56, 20; and 57, 3) where that fish occurs.

Now is there a hieroglyphic fish which has the same phonetic value as the sign #?

There is undoubtedly such a fish, but I must say at once that $\frac{1}{1}$ in this case does not represent the value $\bar{a}h\bar{a}$, but is one of the many forms of the Egyptian drill. "Les variantes qu'il prend," says M. de Rougé, * "suivant les diverses époques, sont innombrables ; chaque graveur le modifiait à sa fantaisie, et cependant on reconnaît son type assez facilement; voici quelques unes de ses principales formes [he gives thirteen], et chacune reçoit un nombre infini de variétés plus ou moins éloignées."

We have to deal with the ideographic sign which is determinative of the word $\hat{a}ba$ (see Dr. Birch's Dictionary, p. 361),† which appears in the plural $\hat{a}bau$, in the Book of the Dead, c. 39, 9, written $\hat{a}bau$ in the text of 69, 8.

^{* &}quot;Étude sur une stèle égyptienne," p. 77. See also note, p. 79, and Chrestomathie, I, p. 75.

[†] See also Brugsch's Dictionary, V, 199, 200.

42, 11, is a clerical variant for \Box , the syllabic value of which is $\bar{a}ba$ or $\dot{a}\bar{a}ba$.*

The royal sarcophagus in the British Museum already mentioned gives (see Sharpe, I, 118, line 19 and following) two instances of this expression, in an invocation for the protection of the deceased from all human attacks, from Amu, Negroes, and others whatsoever," and from the superhuman attacks (χ enenu) of Horus, Set, Sechet, Bast, and χ mā mu mut āba-reu, "from all ghosts whatsoever, male or female." This fish then χ has the value χ has the value χ and its homophone χ .

The Egyptian word aba expresses a great variety of meanings, but they can readily be traced as branching off from the primitive sense, which I cannot better illustrate than by reference to the roots of corresponding import in the Semitic and the Indo-European languages.

Aba signifies to come across, encounter, obviam ire, occurrere, like the Hebrew אָרָך, radically connected with הַלָּרָב, בַרְלָּ, and בַּרָרָ

The chance occurrence (casu adfuit, בייעניי), and לְרִי , the "hostilis occursus," are expressed by the same root.

From The we have the sense approach, present. This is one of the meanings of āba. The ancient Ritual found in the pyramids speaks of $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{$

^{*} Cf. the ancient title \(\frac{1}{2} \sum_{\text{of}} \frac{1}{2} \text{ xerp \(\bar{a}\) bat, and \(\sum_{\text{of}} \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2} \text{ ura \(\chi \) xerp \(\bar{a}\) bat

set'et, "presenting water, flame, and fire." In a later text (Dümichen, H.I., II, 10) $\sqrt{\frac{1}{\Box}}$ $\sqrt{\frac{1}{\Box}$

And the interesting word ﴿ إِلَيْكُمْ , Arabic قربان, an oblation, has its well-known corresponding Egyptian word مُورِدُ لِهُ مُعْلِمُ مُعْلِمُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ مُعْلِمُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ مُعْلِمُ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ اللهِ عَلَيْهِ عَلِيهِ عَلَيْهِ عَلِي عَلَيْهِ عَلَيْهِ

But קרב is used for battle in the speech of Hushai against Ahithophel (2 Sam. xvii, 11), and elsewhere, like the Syriac בובים.

The Egyptian $\int \bar{a}ba$, a horn, corresponds to \bar{b} , and $\bar{a}ba$, radiate (akin to which is $\bar{a}ba$, a star) to \bar{b} .

The Indo-European parallels are not less striking, but for the sake of brevity I shall chiefly confine myself to Greek.

From the root tak we have among others the verbs $\tau \nu \gamma \chi \acute{a}\nu \omega$ and $\tau \epsilon \acute{\nu} \chi \omega$. 'O $\tau \nu \chi \acute{\omega} \nu$ is $= \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \bar{a}ba - re$. $T \epsilon \acute{\nu} \chi \omega$ is used with reference to any kind of work, whether intellectual or manual; of metal, stone, or wood.

Τύκος or τύχος an instrument for working stones with, but also battle-axe, pole-axe.*

The Egyptian word _____ āba, a table or tablet of stone, is in Greek τυκτὰ μάρμαρος. But it also means an altar.

The Egyptian equivalents of τέχνη, art, and τέκτων, craftsman, α and γ ψ will be at once recognized by scholars.

It would be very easy to extend this list of illustrative words. I think my fellow labourers in Egyptology will allow that I have by comparative philology sufficiently justified the Sematology of $\bar{a}ba$, as I understand it.

^{*} The Egyptians had an instrument of which pictures are given in Lepsius' Aelteste Texte, pl. 10 and 38, called _____ \[\begin{align*} \begin{align*} \bar{abit}. \] It is forked at one end. It is mentioned in the Ritual of the Pyramids as an emblem of authority, or as a weapon, held in the fist.

If I am asked for evidence that the Egyptian aba had the sense of 'strife' and 'fight,' I can but refer to the group - 10 \$ ab, and to its acknowledged descendant, for se, which in the Coptic Bible corresponds to the Greek words αντιλέγειν, εναντιοῦσθαι, έναντίος είναι, πατάσσειν, ανθισθάναι, ΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ.

And when I have added the remark that the scriptio plena ābau, shows that the ending corresponds with that of I shall not hesitate to affirm, without fear of refutation, that ābau is the true and indisputable value of the latter group. The great number of Egyptian words having the same sound is most probably the reason why the sense of strife and battle is especially distinguished by the significant sign \bigcap .

Before proceeding to identify the fish $\bar{a}ba$, I must return to one of the groups in which it occurs phonetically. The group āba re is manifestly a compound expression. The sign which sometimes follows it is a determinative of the whole expression, not of re. But what is this re which has lost its determinative? It might signify 'mouth,' or 'door,' T, or 'path,' identifies the last group with the Coptic paorw or part. But in any case the \bigcirc appears to be a noun, and is commonly followed by suffixes. Mr. Goodwin quotes instances in which it is followed by , --- and $\stackrel{}{\lessapprox}$ aru, the equivalent of $\stackrel{}{\leadsto}$ sen. The whole expression occurs in the great inscription of Hapt'efaa at Siout, and has given trouble to its two translators, M. Maspero and Dr. Erman.* The difficulty of course was greatly increased by the presence of several other unknown words. The expression is here written , the determinative of which is conjectured by Dr. Erman to be a small oven, with two metal rings. which it most closely resembles in the copies which have been made is a door \prod , but I suspect that in the original the "metallic rings" really point to \frac{2}{2}. The form of the signs in these Siout inscriptions is often rude and strange, so that even copyists as expert as

^{*} Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., Vol. VII, p. 30. Zeitschr., 1882, p. 175.

Mariette, de Rougé, Brugsch, and Dümichen have read quite different signs. But at all events there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the group with this strange determinative. If we knew the meaning of the sense of the whole passage would be tolerably clear, and, I believe, very important. I can here only venture upon a conjecture. The word $\int_{0}^{\infty} \int_{0}^{\infty} t'abet$ appears, like the Latin solutio, to admit of the sense of payment,* and also that of solution in liquid. In this contract dues seem to be spoken of as paid by the priests into the treasury of the Prince upon every bull and ox and goat. Such dues are still levied in certain countries, and, as an early instance, I will refer to Numbers, chap. 31, where the Levites in charge of the tabernacle receive the tribute, of beeves, sheep, and asses. At the end of the contract, as I understand it, it is stated that if any future prince remits or lowers these dues, the priests are not on that account to receive a smaller share of bread and beer than is actually bequeathed them on condition of their fulfilling their part of the contract. fore translate t'ābet āba-re en ka neb," whatsoever payment for each bull that they pay into the treasury."

The fish āba is the Silurus clarias of Hasselquist, the Silurus schal of Schneider, the Synodontis macrodon of Isidore Geoffroy Saint Hilaire, and Pimelodus synodontis of Geoffroy Saint Hilaire. A good picture of it will be seen in the plates of the great French work on Egypt (Poissons, pl. xii, 5, 6), which enabled me to identify it; and Mr. Budge, who kindly gave me a paper impression from the sarcophagus, recognized it in a bronze figure of the fish, No. 1954a of the Museum Catalogue.

Those who have read the description of this fish will have no difficulty in understanding why the Egyptians gave it the name abau, "the warrior."

^{*} Is $\int_{0}^{\infty} t'abet$ connected with $T \in \Omega I$, the Coptic equivalent for money, in the Gospels, or with $T + \Omega I$, which is the equivalent of $\sigma \dot{\nu} r a \xi \iota s$ assigned impost?

Like most fishes of the genus Silurus, its pectoral fin is armed with a powerful spine. "Elle est tellement articulée sur l'os de l'épaule," says Cuvier, "que le poisson peut à volonté la rapprocher du corps ou la fixer perpendiculairement dans une situation immobile, ce qui en fait alors une arme dangereuse, et dont les blessures passent en beaucoup d'endroits pour envenimées, sans doute parce que le tétanos survient à la suite de leurs déchirures."

But the Schal, as he is called in Lower Egypt, has helmet and buckler, as well as his terrible sword and spear.

"De toutes les sub-divisions des siluroides celle des schal est la plus remarquable en ce qui concerne l'armure de sa tête et celle de sa nuque, et surtout la forme de ses dents. Cette armure de la tête et de la nuque n'est plus seulement comme dans les bagres et les pimelodes, une production de l'interpariétale c'est une suture complète sur un large espace Le troisième intérépineux prolonge comme à l'ordinaire les angles du bouclier des deux côtés des épines dorsales, et tout cet ensemble si compacte est formé d'os épais, grenus, qui règnent depuis la dorsale jusqu'au bout du museau. Les surscapulaires, qui en font les angles latéraux ou les bras, portent eux mêmes des huméraux dont la très grosse pointe ajoute encore à cette formidable armure, qui est complétée par d'énormes épines pectorales à dents très fortes dirigées en deux sens, et par une épine dorsale haute pointue et tranchante. Mais ce qui est encore plus singulier que leur casque c'est la forme de leur bouche et la nature extraordinaire de leurs dents."*

I should be sorry to weaken by translation the force of this powerful description.

A secondary meaning of the word $\bar{a}ba$ is pierce, explore, probe, examine, control. $\hat{\beta}$ $\hat{\beta}$ $\hat{\beta}$ \hat{b} $\hat{a}bi$ -nef $\hat{a}b$, "scrutatus est cor," Rouge, Inscriptions, pl. 23. $\hat{\beta}$ $\hat{a}bab$ (Bonomi, Sarc., pl. 12, B), is a spear or harpoon.

Hence the title of the Egyptian examiner or inspector, $\bar{a}bau$, variously written $\bar{a}bau$, $\bar{$

^{* &}quot;Histoire Naturelle des Poissons," par Cuvier et Valenciennes : tome XV, p. 244.

founded with \mathcal{L} , of which the true equivalent is \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} , through the unscholarlike neglect of the important letter \mathcal{L} which still disgraces our science. How can a word ending with the letter t possibly be $s\bar{a}hu$? The sign \mathcal{L} is only a determinative in \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} \mathcal{L} (Mariette, Mon. Div., pl. 40), like the royal title (see Denkm. III, 5) of the King of the North.

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Brugsch, on authority of recent period, supports the phonetic reading aua (Dictionary, V, p. 7), but really furnishes me with arguments in favour of my reading. "The ," he says, "is a dignity of the ..." Very true, but the was subject to the large constant of the phonetic value ab is attached to the sign , which represents an altar, down to the time of the inscriptions of Edfu (see J. de Rougé, pl. 134), and this very sign is the determinative of the word patronised by Brugsch. Aua is perhaps a mere corruption of āba.

The mer ābau, written inscription of Aahmes (Lepsius, "Auswahl," pl. 14a), is the same as as and signifies chef du contrôle, head of the "Muqābalah." This latter word, which has been so often referred to of late in connection with Egyptian finance, is derived from a Semitic root יוּגע, Hebrew אָבָל, Syriac אָבָל, which, like the Egyptian āba, means 'obviam venit.'

There is another homophone of āba which has not been recognised, in the title \(\frac{1}{2} \) \(\fr

The following Communication has been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann:—

Sur deux Temples bâtis par des Rois de la 29^e dynastie à Karnak..

Dans le dernier numéro du "Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie Egyptienne" (VI, p. 20), M. Maspero a fait part d'une découverte bien intéressante faite à Thèbes en 1884, de la trouvaille d'un petit temple situé au sud du premier pylon de Karnak, et montrant côte-à-côte les noms des rois Achoris et Psamut de la 29° dynastie. Comme le dernier est presque inconnu, de sorte que Lepsius et Lauth l'ont même mis dans une autre dynastie, je crois devoir publier ici comme un supplément à la belle notice de M. Maspero les notes que je me suis faits sur d'autres monuments portants son nom à Thèbes pendant mon séjour à Louqsor en 1882. Rien que les résultats les plus essentiels de ces notes ont pu trouver place dans mon "Handbuch der ægyptischen Geschichte," pp. 697 et 698.

Dans les murailles au sud du lac sacré de Karnak (R chez Lepsius) nous trouvons au bas d'une colonne les mots "qui fait les choses, le roi de la haute et de la basse Egypte Ra-user-Ptah," c'est à dire le prénom du roi Psamut. La fin de son nom avec quelques signes insignifiants se retrouve sur la porte de la dernière chambre de ce temple. C'est d'ici probablement que proviennent deux bas-reliefs conservés actuellement à Berlin, et publiés plusieurs fois (p. c. L. Denkm. III, 259, a, b). L'un d'eux nous montre le roi Psamut faisant une offrande à Amon-Ra et à Chunsu-em-us-t-nefer-hetep. Le second est un architrave, qui donne au milieu le nom et le titre de Hut-t, au-dessous se voit le disque ailé; puis dans la ligne suivante les deux

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noms de Psamut. À gauche nous retrouvons les mêmes noms, et en même temps le nom-Horus du roi devant la figure du dieu Ra assis. Nul bas-relief du temple n'est conservé aujourd'hui, on n'en voit que les fondaments manquants presque en entier d'inscriptions. C'est pourquoi nous ne pouvons expliquer avec sureté le fait curieux que nous trouvons parmi les ruines de ce temple le fragment d'un autre architrave, qui nous donne la cartouche autre architrave, qui nous donne la cartouche et audessous les paroles forme de la 26° dynastie a commencé le temple, qui n'a été achevé que des siècles plus tard; c'est une question que nous ne pouvons pas encore résoudre.

Plusieurs blocs de ce temple ont été portés loin de leur premier emplacement et jétés parmi d'autres ruines. Ainsi nous trouvons à l'est du temple un bloc pareil à celui que M. Lepsius a publié. Nous y voyons l'épervier "qui te donne la vie et le pouvoir" devant la cartouche de Psamut. Après suit une ligne qui nous nomme le dieu Chunsu-em-us-t-nefer-hetep; une autre qui nomme Hathor dans Thèbes; et enfin une dernière contenant la fin ordinaire de telles inscriptions, "aimé" (sc. par Chunsu et Hathor est le roi) "donnant la vie toujours." Un autre bloc très-brisé donne dans la première ligne la fin du prénom et le nom complet de Psamut accompagné du titre "fils du soleil, seigneur des couronnes," et dans la seconde ligne les signes

De l'autre côté du temple, un peu plus au sud-ouest du lac, nous trouvons un fragment, la partie supérieure d'une colonne, donnant le nom de Psamut.

Tous ces fragments nous démontrent que ce roi a fait bâtir près du lac sacré de Karnak un temple qui doit avoir eu un assez grand nombre d'inscriptions, et dont les bas-reliefs, autant qu'on puisse juger des fragments conservés, offraient un travail bien exécuté. Ce sont des remarques tout-à-fait analogues à celles que M. Maspero a pu faire dans le temple découvert en 1884.

M. Maspero a trouvé à côté du nom de Psamut celui du roi Achoris. Dans le temple R je ne l'ai pas remarqué, mais ce n'est pas impossible qu'il s'y trouvait dans les partis brisés. On aperçoit dans plusieurs places à Thèbes des fragments avec son nom qui peuvent très-bien provenir d'ici. Ainsi M. Lepsius a publié (L. Denkm. III, 28 f, 4 g) deux fragments donnant son nom, et

trouvés dans le village Nega el Fokani dans l'est du grand temple de Karnak. Et, ce qui est de plus intéressant, deux montants d'une porte provenant d'un temple d'Achoris ont été pris pour en bâtir la porte de l'hôtel de Louqsor. Ils nous montrent tous les deux le dieu Chunsuem-us-t-nefer-hetep debout, tenant le sceptre us et le signe de la vie, et donnant d'après l'inscription la santé ou la vie et la puissance. Devant le dieu se voit chaque fois une colonne verticale. L'une d'elles dit:



Ces inscriptions nous montrent, malgré leur état mutilé, que porte dont elles proviennent fut érigée par le roi Achoris. Le emple auquel elles appartenaient paraît avoir eu le nom Per-t-āa-āb. Il fut dédié probablement à Chunsu dans la même forme, a laquelle Ramses III fit élever le grand temple de Chunsu à Karnak. Les mêmes faits sont demontrés par les textes cités pour le temple R bâti par Psamut, ainsi que l'hypothèse que ces deux montants de portes appartenaient au même bâtiment paraît être bien vraisemblable.

En combinant brièvement nos déductions, nous arrivons au résultat suivant: Le temple R près du lac sacré à Karnak fut commencé probablement par un Psammetich de la 26e dynastie. Il fut omé de bas-reliefs d'abord par Psamut, et puis par son successeur Achoris. On ne peut plus constater s'il fut jamais achevé à cause de l'état de déstruction complète des ruines. Nous trouvons donc dans le temple R une sorte de pendant au temple découvert par M. Maspero. Ils proviennent tous les deux du même temps, montrent les mêmes textes banals et stéréotypes, et prouvent tous les deux le fait remarqué déjà par M. Révillout en 1876, et réproduit dans ma "Geschichte Ægyptens," S. 268 et 274, que le roi Psamut appartient à la 29e dynastie, et non, comme on l'avait cru jusqu' alors, à la 23°. Espérons que les fouilles ultérieures de M. Maspero dans les environs de Karnak procurent à la science encore d'autres textes sur ce roi intéressant et si peu connu, quoiqu'il soit mentionné même par les Grecs (Diod. XIV, 19), qui le decrivent comme perfide et traître.

Non loin du temple dont nous venons de parler, se trouve à Karnak un autre, qui a été décoré par un roi de la même dynastie. C'est le temple V de Lepsius, au dehors de l'enceinte du grand temple, et un peu plus loin vers le sud-est que le temple R. Ce temple, qui est

presque entièrement en ruine, paraît avoir été fondé par Tutmes III, dont on trouve le nom répété plusieurs fois dans les ruines, et qui y est représenté en adoration devant Amon-Ra, etc. Dans ce temple furent trouvés des *fragments* portant les noms du roi Nepherites (une pièrre qui gise parmi les ruines de ce temple a été couverte d'une couleur noir. Sur ce fond a été écrit en charactères d'à peu près la 21° dynastie un graffito dont on peut lire encore les signes

de la 29^e dynastie. Deux

morceaux, dont l'un ne donne que la fin du nom et montre le roi en adoration, tandis que l'autre le montre devant les divinités Mout et Anīt, ont été transportés à Berlin (L.Denkm. III, 284 b-c). Ainsi que la plupart des fragments du temple ces deux morceaux sont en grès. En place, je n'ai pu trouver des pièces analogues, mais elles se trouvent en assez grand nombre non loin de là un peu plus vers l'est. Les fellahs ont construit ici un mur en pierre environant un jardin, et ont fait usage à ce but des pierres de notre temple V. Malheureusement les pierres ont été brisées afin d'être plus maniables, ainsi les inscriptions sont presque entièrement détruites. Malgré ça nous y trouvons encore un fragment montrant le commencement de la

cartouche c'est à dire du nom de Nepherites, et plusieurs

fragments d'un travail identique contenant des passages d'une liste des Entre autres le nom de T de Memphis est très-bien connomes. Quelques pièces d'un travail Ptolémaïque démontrent qu'aussi les Ptolémées se sont occupés à embellir ce temple-ci. période de la décoration du temple est representée par plusieurs autres blocs. L'un d'eux porte plusieurs fois le nom de la reine Schep-en-apt du commencement de la 26° dynastie, tandis que sur un autre se lisent les signes | qui formaient sans doute le commencement du nom du roi Pianchi, qui fut le mari de la reine Ameneritis, le père de Schepenapt, et le beau-père du roi Psammetich I. Hormis ces noms les inscriptions n'offrent point d'interêt. Ce qui est de valeur pour nous c'est le fait que le roi Nepherites, un autre roi presque inconnu de la 29e dynastie, s'est occupé à élever ou à embellir un temple à Thèbes, un signe de plus que sa puissance ne fut pas aussi petite qu'on a cru pouvoir supposser.

D'une date un peu plus récente que ces deux monuments est un

petit temple dans les environs (W chez Lepsius, un peu à l'est du temple de Mut), qui a été bâti par le roi Nectanebus I, ainsi que l'a déjà remarqué Champollion (Not. II. 264). Ce temple est maintenant presque tout-à-fait détruit. La seule inscription que j'y aie pue trouver se voyait au bas d'un montant de porte, et donnait la fin du nom du roi Nectanebus I. Un fragment en grès portant les deux cartouches du même roi et conservé actuellement près de l'hôtel de Louqsor provient probablement du même temple.

Malgré le peu d'importance que de telles notices pourraient paraître avoir, il ne me semble pas superflu de les publier. Les temples environnant le grand temple de Karnak disparaîssent avec une vitesse effrayante sous la main des touristes et des fellahs, où sous l'influence des crues du Nil, et il sera impossible de sauver pour la postérité toutes ces petites ruines qui couvrent la plaine de Thèbes. C'est pour ça qu'il est nécessaire dans l'interêt de la science d'enrégistrer tous ces monuments comme preuves des travaux réligieux des derniers rois d'Égypte, avant que toutes leurs inscriptions et toutes leurs pierres soient dépecées, ou cuites dans des fours à chaux.

Bonn, 5 Fevrier, 1885.

The following communication has been received from Mr. F. Cope Whitehouse in continuation of his researches in the Mæris Basin:—

MAR-MŒRIS, WEST OF OXYRHYNCUS-BEHNESA.

In discussing at Cairo with Rousseau Pasha (then Director-General of Public Works), on the 1st of March, 1883, the possible restoration of what may be termed the Reian-Mæris, or southern basin, it was urged by him as a serious objection that the passage of a large body of water with rapid current round the upper plateau of the Fayoum would be a continual menace to its inhabitants (150,000). These apprehensions, it seemed to me, did not constitute an insuperable obstacle, or even involve any very great risk or outlay. The danger is always present. A catastrophe seemed so imminent in the hazards of war (1882), when the dyke of El-Lahun might have been destroyed, by accident or design, by the retreating army of Arabi Pasha and the Bedouins of Sirdawi, that I thought myself justified in calling the attention of the Duke of Sutherland and others

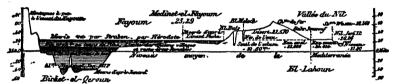
to the possibility of such an occurrence. In history and tradition there are recorded instances which show what might happen at any time. It has even seemed to me possible to trace in Western tales the actual fate of towns which, like those in the Jordan Valley, lie far below the level of water, excluded in the case of the Fayoum by a frail barrier of brick, pierced with openings through which a stream of considerable size continually flows. On January 11th, 1871, there was a difference of seven feet between the water above and The value of an impounding reservoir in the Libyan Desert would however be very greatly enhanced if the Nile entered at the southern extremity of the basin. The difference in level gained in forty miles by the lake over the Nile would obviously be a factor of great importance in many ways. It would be a permanent head for mechanical as well as irrigation purposes. very gladly acceded to his suggestion to examine the desert near Oxyrhyncus-Behneså with a view to a possible cutting or tunnel at that point. There were many suggestive hints to encourage it, but ancient evidence seemed conspicuously wanting. The general principle that Egypt cannot hope to surpass her Ramesside and Ptolemaic record was here coupled with the explicit statements of the Greek and Roman historians that Moeris was fed by the canal at El-Lahun. In January (1884), while preparing a Coptic-hieroglyphic map of the parts of Egypt directly connected with Mœris, I found the following passage:-

which Dr. Brugsch translates: "il (le roi) conduit vers toi (le dieu Horus) le canal *Temî* amenant ses larges eaux, le torrent étant de quarante coudées. Toi tu as chargé d'un tribut le dieu Typhon pour qu'il apporte les productions de son père. La ville de Utu travaille amenant ses tributs." (Dict. Geog., p. 1188.) Dr. Brugsch explains (p. 1191) the 40 cubits as the depth of the canal, and refers it to the "grand canal de Yusuf, Joseph, sur la rive gauche duquel est située la ville Behnasâ et que les géographes Arabes du moyen âge ne



ERBONEOUS SECTION OF LINANT DE BELLEFONDS.

donc un autre lac Maréotis dont la tradition n'a pas conservé les moindres traces de souvenir," followed necessarily from the fatal error in regard to the extent of Mœris which he adopted from M. Linant through Dr. Lepsius.



From the Revue Archéologique.

F. COPE WHITEHOUSE.

It seems therefore that in Pharaonic days the "Lake of the West" may have been connected with the Bahr Jūsuf by a canal at this point. The present aliment of the palm-trees at the Deir Reian is perhaps a thread of water slowly filtering through the old channel. It should be one of the objects of any exploration to trace by sinking tubes (easily accomplished) the direction of the underground flow.

Zoan-Memphis, the Palace of Pharoah (Ex. vii, et seq.).

There may be—and I think are—many other texts which refer to Lake Mœris, and which have been erroneously assigned to the

north-eastern Delta. The acute perception of Jablonski was for once at fault when he said, "Castigandus est error Fl. Josephi, Lib. IV, de B.J. c. 9, § 7, 22 accipientis de Memphi, cum tamen ipse alibi, Lib. I, A.J. c. 8, § 3 rectius intelligit Tanin." Had he observed that in the Antiquities (as in the LXX) a qualifying term is added, προ Τάνιδος της Αλγύπτου, while it is also stated, B.J. IV, 11, 5, how Titus "κατὰ πολίχνην τινὰ Τάνιν ἀυλίζεται," he would have eagerly welcomed the explanation that as the δεύτερος σταθμός, Ήρακλέους πόλις, was Heracleopolis Parva, so the Tanis of the Delta where Titus passed the night was not a city of any great importance. The Tanis at the Memphite end of the Tanitic Branch of the Nile in the land of Mizraim-Egypt-Raamses is TANIS Magna. It was the royal suburb or quarter in which the Hyksos kings had probably reigned, the Tanis of the Pilgrim Antoninus, and the Zoan or Masr Antika of the R. Benjamin of Tudela. (See Proc. Am. Or. Soc. Balto., Oct. 29th, 1884, and authorities cited.) The oversight (or assumption) of Jablonski is the more to be regretted because he had nevertheless insisted that either Memphis or Heliopolis was the residence of Pharaoh (Diss. IV, p. 126, and § 5), and inter alia cited the Greek text of Judith i, 10: "Εως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν ἐπάνω Τάνεως καὶ Μέμφεως "-(omitted in the Vulgate). His conclusion deserves to be given in his own words: "Quodsi jam omnia hæc rite expendimus et inter se comparamus, intelligemus facile, in Ægypto, ab omni tempore, hominibus hanc insedisse persuasionem, Israëlitas quidem habitasse in tractu Heracleopolitico, ibique, cum pecoribus pascendis, tum operibus magnificis et utilitatis admirandæ construendis, occupatos fuisse, dum interea reges Memphim, sedem suam, omni studio et industria exornarent, atque illic jus populis Postremum hoc cumprimis, ex omnibus iis quæ attuli indiciis adeo certis colligitur, ut vix credam, fore quemquam, qui id in dubium vocare sustineat." He based his affirmation on the opinion given by St. Jerome: "Nonnulli Judæorum asserunt Gesen nunc Thebaidem vocari. Et id quod postea sequitur, 'Dediit iis ut possiderent Ægypti (al, in Aegypto) optimam terram in Ramesse,' PAGUM ARSINOITEM sic olim vocatur autumant." (Lib. Heb. O. in Gen. c. xlv, v. 28.) He concluded as follows: "Quo admisso, ruit profecto præcipuum contrariæ opinionis fulcrum, neque nobis posthac 'Tanis [San el-Hagar] esse caput Ægypti objici poterit." (Jablonski, Op. II, De Terra Gosen, Dis. VI, § viii.

Goshen-Fayoum.

The admirable completeness of Semitic tradition in the Arabic Historians, from unknown antiquity and the Koran to Leo Africanus, had already led me to hold (Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch., June 5, 1883) that the Israelites "were employed on the great constructions from Gizeh to the island (Pyramids) in Mœris." The arguments of Jablonski would have convinced me, had my own opinion not been formed before (September, 1884) I obtained a copy of his treatise. Like him, I had rejected the Tanitic residence of the Pharaohs from Joseph to Moses at San-el-Hagar, the Tanis of Herodotus and Strabo, from a confidence in the entire accuracy of the Greek, Latin, and Arabic enumeration of the seats of Imperial Power (Abd el-Atif, "Relation de l'Égypte," p. 184; Makrizi, p. 209; Maçoudi, "Les Prairies d'Or," p. 365, V. ii, chap. xxxi; Abulfeda, p. 31; (Michælis) [see n., p. 126]; Murtadi (Vattier), p. 107, et seq. and Leo Africanus, Lib. VIII). It seems clear that the Taxes of Suidas: ονομα τόπου ένθα ήσαν του Φαραώ τὰ βασίλεια; and Theodoret: Τάνις **ἔιχε τοῦ Φαραὼ τὰ βυσίλεια ; ἐκεῖ δὲ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰς τιμωρίας ὁ μέγας** ἐπήγαγε Μωσής (Ps. Ixxvii, 43) was the same royal palace whose geographical situation is fixed beyond dispute by the plague of "The mighty strong west wind, which took away the locusts and cast them into the Red Sea" (Ex. x, 19), was Notus (LXX), or [i.e., Moipios=Mæris], and blew across the Heracleopolite Nome from the Sea of the West (Pi-Tum or Horus) to the Sea of Suph, רכודה כורה. No objection can be founded on the Ἡρώων πόλιν of the LXX (Gen. xlvi, 28, 29; cf. Josephus), and the Targumists (xlvii, 11; cf. Pilgrim Antoninus). The dualism (or even pluralism) of names of places in Egypt is an unquestionable fact.

e B da Avapıs=Howara.

A most interesting (but original) result of this identification of the Arsinoite Nome with the land of Goshen is the explanation then afforded by Manetho of the addition of the LXX: γῆν Γεσὲμ ᾿Αραβίας. Syncellus said: Ἰακὼβ δὲ κατελθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ ἐις Αἴγνπτον κατφίκησεν ἐν γῆ Γεσὲμ, ἤτις ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς τῆ Αἰγύπτφ ᾿Αραβία. Satisfied that Aegyptus is commonly to be taken in the restricted sense of the Heptanomis—ἐ.e., the northern part of Middle Egypt—the region ἡ πρὸς τῆ Αἰγύπτφ ᾿Αραβία must be the Fayoum. Josephus accepted the statement of Manetho (Apion., i, 26), that the later occupants

of Avaris were the Jews, and claimed that the compulsory exodus of the shepherds was in fact the voluntary exodus of the Israelites. Everything therefore which determines the position of Avaris is evidence for the situation of the land of Goshen in the opinion of the Alexandrine and Palestine Jews of the Christian Era. "'The king,' says Manetho (§ 26) 'got together . . . 80,000 men, whom he sent to those quarries which are on the east side of the Nile [Turra and Masoora, that they might work in them, and he separated them from the rest of the Egyptians'... after which he (Manetho) then writes verbatim: 'After those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued in that miserable state for a long while, the king was desired that he would set apart the city of Avaris, which was then left desolate of the shepherds, for their habitation and protection which desire he granted them. Now this city, according to the ancient theology, was Typhonian (τυφώνιος). But when these men were gotten into it and found the place fit for a revolt, they appointed themselves a ruler out of the priests of Heliopolis, whose name was When he had made many laws contrary to the Osarsiph. . . . customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should use the multitude of the hands they had in building walls about their city, and make themselves ready for a war with king Amenophis. . . . He sent ambassadors to those shepherds who had been driven out of the land by Tethmosis to the city [also] called Jerusalem .. and promised that he would in the first place bring them back to their ancient city and country Avaris: είς Αυαρίν την προγονικήν αὐτών πατρίδα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖε ὅχλοις παρέξειν ἀφθύνως.'" The only strategic position sufficiently near to Egypt, and yet separated from it, is that oasis El-Hun, Pa-Men, Ta-She, Phiom, Pithom, redeemed by a canal into the Wadi Reian (Edrisi), watered by the Bahr Jusuf, and with its impounding reservoir, the lake of Mœris, the key to the Nile below Beni-Suef (Jusuf. Σοῦφις). It was peculiarly adapted to be TIRE 2711, "the interior" (or palace) of the great natural enceinte, which has survived as the appellation of the (mediæval) dyke. Herodotus uses your rightly enough as describing the terra fossilis, the easily eroded and friable limestone in the Western Basins but the germ of his tradition about the artificial removal of the earth seems to lie in the geological truth and the word SONT. Abapis then is Howara. The name survives where the Labyrinth has hitherto been placed, at the entrance of the Fayoum.

The summer encampment (ἐνθάδε κατὰ θερειαν ῆρχετο) was called by the same name, in accordance with the dualism of Egyptian geographical nomenclature (Brugsch, Abulfeda, passim). Ἐπὶ δὲ βασιλεως, ῷ ὅνομα εἶναι ᾿Αλισφραγμόυθωσις, ἡττωμένους φησὶ τοὺς ποιμένας ὑπ᾽ ἀυτοῦ ἐκ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης Αἰγύπτου πάσης ἐκπεσεῖν, κατακλεισθῆναι δ᾽ ἐις τόπον, ἀρουρῶν ἔχοντα μυρίων τὴν περίμετρον: Αὕαριν ὅνομα τῷ τόπῳ. Τοῦτον φησιν ὁ Μανεθὼν ἄπαντα τείχει τε μεγάλω καὶ ἰσχυρῷ περιβαλεῖν τοὺς ποιμένας; ὅπως τἡν τε κτῆσιν ἀπασαν ἔχωσιν ἐν ὀχυρῷ καὶ τὴν λείαν τὴν ἑαυτῶν. Shut up in the Fayoum, on the land side protected by the Bahr Wardan and on the west by Μœris, with the inexhaustible supplies



THE BEIAN-MCERIS BESTORED.

of food furnished by the lake and the cultivation of the upper plateau; in easy communication with Syria across the Desert, (assuming that the figures are sufficiently accurate to describe the spot) even 480,000 men under Alisphragmouthosis might be compelled to parley with the besieged, and allow 420,000 souls to withdraw "from Egypt and go without any harm to be done to them whithersoever they would; and after this composition was made they went away with their whole families and effects, and took their journey from Egypt through the wilderness to Syria." Josephus, who undoubtedly confined all the events connected with the history of the Jews in Egypt (from Joseph to Moses) between Tel el-Yahoudeh and Beni-Suef, accepts this so far as to say: "These shepherds, as they are here called, who were no other than our forefathers, were delivered out of

Egypt, and came thence and inhabited this country 393 years before Danaus came to Argos; Manetho bears this testimony to two points of the greatest consequence to our purpose, and those from the Egyptian records themselves. In the first place, that we came out of another country into Egypt, and that withal our deliverance out of it was so ancient in time as to have preceded the siege of Troy about a thousand years." (Contra Apion I, 16.) Thus abla
abla

 Π_{0i} - $M_{\eta\nu}$ is derived from "The country called \Box \Box \Box \Box \Box \Box \Box Men-Men (which) belonged to the Province of the Fayoum to the north of the Canal of Mœris." (Brugsch Dict. Geog., p. 258. See especially p. 256 and pp. 141, 142.) The term Shepherd Kings is sufficiently dubious, "HuD who dwells in the CETA" (ib., p. 611) is suggestive of 'Iovdaía (Steph., Thes., p. 628), with its otherwise unknown origin. Manetho reports a tradition that the colonists of the Syrian and Egyptian Jerusalem had mutually interchanged many names. They were Egyptian Σολυμίται who obtained as a leader the Heliopolitan priest, to whom was given ώς μετέβη εις τουτο τὸ γένος, the tribal appellation. Avapis is Amausis in Abulfeda. Kai προσηγορεύθη Μωϋσης, "redeemed from water," like his adopted (mother, Ex. ii, 10) country. Tethmosis had previously driven the monotheistic lepers [את כל הורן יהודה, Jer. 27, 20] into τὸ ἄστυ τοῦτο Ἱερόσυλα, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων διαθέσεως ὼνομάσθαι.

The papyrus of the British Museum says: "referring to this supposed earlier expulsion: 'The country of Egypt fell into the hands of the lepers, and no one was king of the whole country. For the king Rasekenen was only king of Upper Egypt. The lepers (the Hebrews? cf. de Rougé) were in Heliopolis, and their ruler Ras-Pepi at Haouar or Avaris'" (Dr. Birch, H. E. p. 77). "But names of these monarchs have been found at Tel-el-Yahoudeh

and Mit-Fares in the Fayoum" (ibid.). If therefore "the arrival of Joseph in Egypt has [rightly] been placed by some [including Josephus] in the reign of Apepi II [and the Hyk-Sos kings]," then "the 430 years of the bondage of Israel corresponds with the monumental date of 400 years from the Shepherd [Lords of WET] Rulers of Set or Saites [in the Sethroite Nome] to Rameses II" (ibid., p. 79). The enterprising engineers, "men of ignoble birth out of eastern parts, who had boldness enough to make an expedition into our [Manetho's] country and with ease subdued it, yet without a battle" (Jos. Contra Apion, I, 14), apparently took possession of a natural lake and marsh which enabled them to divide by canals the feudal lords of the Delta, and rule them from Tanis, Zoan, Memphis.* They were Arabs to the indigenous inhabitants. Their province with its labyrinth or "temple to Sutech for ever," always retained its foreign characteristics (Murtadi), and long after it ceased to be "Typhonian" (§ 26), it was a supplemental Nome (Ain, Aean (Pliny), and the Heroonpolis of other geographers. A single glance at a correct map of Egypt, showing the Reian Basin and the depth below the Mediterranean of that dry valley and the cultivable land of the Fayoum (See Proceedings, Soc. Bib. Arch., Map and Sections, June, 1882), gives striking force to the words, "the king conducts to thee the Nile (H'APU, H'AP) of Lower Egypt, from the site of the Heliopolite Nome, leaving, as its point of departure, the town of U'AR [Howara]. It is thus that the town called @ D & U-'AR has a very marked geographical application to the Nile before the formation [redemption] of the Delta." (Br. D. G. p. 143.)

^{*} Compare in both respects a similar work in Arabia:—"Abd-Shems, surnamed Saba, having built the city, from him called Saba and afterwards Mareb, made a vast mound or dam, to serve as a basin or reservoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the use of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but also to keep the country in greater awe by being masters of the water. This structure stood like a mountain above their city, and was by them esteemed so strong that they were in no apprehension of its ever failing. The water rose to the height of almost twenty fathoms, and was kept in on every side by a work so solid that many of the inhabitants had their houses built upon it." It was however destroyed by a flood "which happened soon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is famous in Arabian history."—Geogr. Nub., p. 52; Sale's Koran, p. 8.

The following description appeared in the *Graphic*, 10th January, 1885, p. 43. Dr. Birch has kindly sent me a note on the inscription.

W. H. R.

The subjoined inscription, on the face of a red granite rock, on the left bank of the Nile, at the top of the Cataract of Tangur, sixty feet above the water, was copied on November 3 by Mr. Charles Williams, of the Central News. Mr. Williams thus describes it in a letter to the Daily Chronicle:—"At the top of this cataract (Tangur), on a brown granite rock above the highest Nile, its face showing south, about fifteen degrees west, is a hieroglyphic inscription; which is, I believe, as yet unrecorded. It is in an out-of-the-way place, little likely to be visited by Europeans, and it is so small that it would hardly attract the attention of natives. Every effort to devise a means of reproducing this in ordinary typography having failed, I have handed the sketch to that veteran campaigner, Mr. Frederick Villiers, the special artist of the Graphic, who sends it home by this mail in the hope that it will be published and deciphered."

The copy of the inscription from the Cataract of Tangur is so difficult to read that only the merest conjecture can be made of its import. It appears to be dated in the second year of Thothmes I. This seems probable from the beetle in the name of the king, as the two first lines may be and then and then the second line of the king, and in

In the subsequent lines appear to be-

which seems to refer to the return of the king and the convoy of some kind led by Aahmes, scribe of the troops, the amount of which is illegible. The following Communication has been received from Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge:—

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

February 4th, 1885.

While staying at Oxford last year, Prof. Sayce showed me some stelæ which form part of the Egyptian collection preserved in the library of Queen's College. Among them is a grey stone tablet, rounded at the top and containing 19 lines of inscription; it measures 181 by 111 inches. On the left hand side towards the top is a figure of a man, upright and wearing a head-dress; his right arm is raised, and from his waist to his feet he is draped in a garment which terminates in a point in front of him near the feet. Dr. Birch thinks that the stele belongs to the period of the XIIth Dynasty. It was inscribed for a person called xenti-xati-em-hat.* The hieroglyphics are roughly (sometimes even imperfectly) made, and here and there characters have been omitted from the words. Through the kindness of the Provost and Fellows of Queen's College a squeeze was taken, and from this, together with Mr. Le Page Renouf's assistance, I have been enabled to send you the following copy of the text, a transliteration of it, and translation.

Transliteration.

- 1. tūau Asar
- 2. T'eț ari at en at mat xenti-
- 3. xati-em-hat maxeru t'et-f anet' hra-k Asar xent Amenta
- 4. em hru pen nefer χā àn ka àm-f neb aābu
- 5. ka sexet neb sent āā śefit ertāi-nef sexet
- 6. em xent Suten-senen erțā Rā senț-f qema
- 7. en Tmu sessesit-f em ab en ret
- 8. nutaru rexit mitu ți ba-f em Tațțu śefit
- 9. em Suten-senen ți ās'em-f em Annu
- 10. āā χeperu em Taṭṭu neb senṭ em ṭu āā neru em
- 11. Ru-stau neb aā ur em Tanent āā merut ḥer-ta
- 12. neb sexa nefer em hā aā āā xāu em Abţu ţi-nef māxeru
- 13. embah Seb paut nutaru āāt temt qema nef sat em
- 14. usext a'mt Her-ur nereru-nef sexemu āāu āhā-nef

^{*} This name is also found on the Florence stele No. 2564. See Lieblein, Dict. des noms Hiér., p. 62, No. 199.

- 15. uru her temau-sen tā en Shu sent-f qema en
- 16. Tefnut sefit-f i-nef At'erti resu meht em Resu en ur
- 17. en senț-f en aat en sefit-f pa pu Asar aau Seb ati nutaru
- 18. χ erp en pet heq en $\bar{a}n\chi$ iu suten taiu se χ u χ a [besu]
- 19. em xer-āba ḥāāu-nef* hamemu em Annu

Translation.

Adoration to Osiris. Says xenti-xati-em-hat, triumphant, the keeper of the house, of the house of gifts, "Hail Osiris xent Amenta, lord of horns, lofty diademed, lord of terror, great of power, on this beautiful day which rises without lamentation in it, the crown has been given to him at the head of Suten-senen. Rā has given his terror and Tmu has produced his fear in the heart of men, gods, the living and the dead (damned): giving his power (soul) in Tattu, his might in Suten-senen, and his form in Heliopolis. The great of becomings in Tattu, the lord of terror on the two hills, the mightily feared in Rustau, the mighty great god in Tanent, the much-beloved upon earth, the lord of good thought in the great palace and the mightily diademed in Abydos. Triumph is given to him in the presence of Seb and the cycle of the great gods: he has made slaughterings in the great hall which is in Her-ur,† the great powers fear him, and the mighty ones stand up to him upon their pedestals. Shu provides his terror and Tefnut his (her) powers; and the two At'erti, the northern and southern, come in homage to the great one of his terror, and the mighty one of his courage, viz., Osiris, the heir of Seb, the sovereign of the gods, the first one of heaven, the ruler of the living, and the king of the two earths, (whom) the constellations glorify in xer-aba, and (whom) the unborn generations adore in Heliopolis.

I am informed that there are other Egyptian inscribed stones in both Hieratic and Hieroglyphic among the treasures preserved in the library of this College; it is much to be wished that someone on the spot would interest themselves to obtain copies, as they would form a suitable continuation to the above remarks by Mr. Budge.—W.H.R.

^{*} See Mr. Renouf's Paper on the Silurus Fish in this month's Proceedings.

[†] See Brugsch, Dictionnaire Géographique, pp. 524-525.

The following communication has been received from Mr. Theo. G. Pinches:-

THE NAME OF THE CITY AND COUNTRY OVER WHICH TARKÛ-TIMME RULED.

It will be remembered that the now well-known boss of Tarkûtimme bears an inscription in Hittite and Assyrian or Babylonian which may prove, ultimately, of great value in enabling scholars to find out how to translate the strange hieroglyphs from Aleppo and Jerabis. Now as the name of the city or country over which Tarkû-timme reigned is the most doubtful part of the inscription, some scholars reading the name mât Ermê, "land of Ermê," others mât Zumê, "land of Zumê," a few remarks upon this subject may not be quite useless. As I purpose speaking only of the wedge-inscription on this boss, I reproduce it here:-

Prof. Sayce is of opinion that these forms must be referred to the time of Sargon of Assyria, and this is not by any means unlikely, for they bear a close likeness to the half archaic, half Babylonian style adopted during his reign,* though it must be confessed that the forms are not quite archaic enough. Transcribed into pure late Assyrian, the inscription would be as follows:-

and in pure late Babylonian, as follows:-

It seems best, therefore, to regard these forms as pure Babylonian, possibly slightly modified by Assyrian influence. If the inscription be regarded as being connected with the Babylonian wedge-writing, the number of characters correctly given is seven, the incorrect ones being the second (Tar), the third (ku), the fifth (tim, which might equally well be * mu), and the eleventh (e). †

* Compare Lyon's "Keilschrifttexte Sargon's," pp. 20-26.

⁺ It must also be noted that the forms are equally incorrect from an Assyrian point of view.

The reading of all the characters, therefore, stands, except in the case of the last but two (\nearrow), and for this, the character for "city," I would propose the more usual reading of &l (&lu), "city," instead of er or zu, and translate the whole

"Tarkû-timme, king of the land of the city of water."

Can this "watertown" be Kadesh, on the Lake of Homs? If so, this inscription makes it almost certain that the people who used these hieroglyphs were really the Kheta or Hittites, with whom they have been identified.

Whether the Kheta or Hittites are to be identified with the people of Hatti of the Assyrians, is doubtful (see Schrader, Keilinschriften und des Alte Testament, pp. 107—111). It may here be noted that besides the well-known mât Hatti, hitherto identified with the Kheta or Hittites, a similar name, with a single t and long a, occurs; and that these are distinct countries may be gathered from the following passages, taken from an omen-tablet in W.A.I., Vol. III, pl. 60, col. 1, lines 37-38 and 45-47:—

Úmu xvi kam atalū išakkan, šar Akkadi D.S.

Day 16th an eclipse happens, the king of Akkad

imât, D.P. Nergal ina mâti îkkal will die, Nergal in the land will eat up.

Sûma, sar mât Ḥa-a- ti itebbî- ma kussā iṣab - bat. the same, the king of Ḥâti will come and the throne will take.

That is :-

"If, on the sixteenth day (of the month Ab), an eclipse happen, the king of Akkad will die, Nergal* will destroy in the land."

"If, on the twentieth day, an eclipse happen, the king of Ḥatti will die, the king of Ḥâti will come and take the throne."

^{*} The pestilence.

試置 目 一対 恒 → (「一直 ユーザ 目 idâk - ma kussā iṣab - bat û nakru itebbî - ma will kill and the throne will take, and an enemy will come and

mâta îkkal.

the country will eat up.

W -X ->\ =\\ YY **≍**YY¥ Y>+>+ zunnu šam - ê melû ina nakbi ibattaku ina Rain heaven, flood in the channel will overflow. in

That is:-

"If, on the fifteenth day (of the month Elul), an eclipse happen, the son of the king will kill his father and will take the throne; and an enemy will come and destroy the country."

"If, on the sixteenth day, an eclipse happen, (the son of) the king of a foreign land will kill his father, and the king of Ḥâti will come and take the throne. Rain from heaven, and flood in the channel will overflow."

From this it may be inferred that besides the land of Hatti there was also another country called Hâti, strong enough, and, seemingly, ever ready, in those very ancient times, to take advantage of any circumstance to conquer the land of Hatti, or, indeed, any other country whose internal dissensions made it likely that it would fall an easy prey to an invading army. These two localities, Hâti and Hatti, probably lay very close together, and (it is not unlikely) got

confused, in the course of time, in the minds of the nations around. It is to be noted that, though the Hebrew אָה, בּאָרָה, correspond very well with the Assyrian Ḥatti (better Ḥattê), yet the Egyptian form Kheta, with its single dental, agrees better with the land Ḥati mentioned above. Certain it is, that the Ḥatti of the Assyrian inscriptions lay on the sea coast, so that it is probable that, at least in early times, Ḥati was the name of the country farther inland—perhaps to be identified with the Egyptian Kheta.

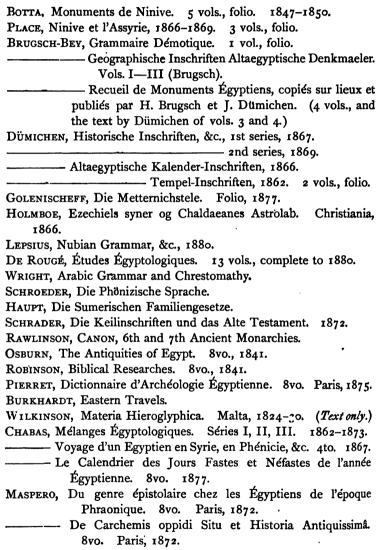
[My attention was called to these passages by the Rev. W. Wright, who, before the publication of his book, "The Empire of the Hittites," asked me some questions about the translations already published. The Rev. C. J. Ball tells me that he also has quoted these passages, in a forthcoming work, to show the uncertainty of the identifications already made.

For the suggestion that, instead of Zumê or Ermê, âl Mê might also be read, see a letter from the Rev. C. J. Ball, in the Academy for Dec. 27th, 1884, p. 435.]

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, May 5th, 1885, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS:—"On the Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III."
- II. ROBERT CUST:—"Remarks of a Traveller on the Excavations in progress, or lately completed in Egypt."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Sixth Meeting, 5th May, 1885.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., President, in the chair.



The President referred with deep regret to the loss the Society had suffered by the death of one of the Vice-Presidents, the Rev. George. Currey, D.D., a distinguished classical scholar, and Master of the Charterhouse, who died on the 30th April.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1884-85. Nos. 10, 11, and 12. March and April, 1885. 4to. London. 1885.

From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland:—New Series. Vol. XVII. Part II. April, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Royal Geographical Society:—The Proceedings and Monthly Record of Geography. Vol. VII. Nos. 3 and 4. March and April, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.

From the Royal Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:—The Journal. Vol. XLII. No. 165. 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.

[No. LIII.]

- From the Palestine Exploration Fund:—The Quarterly Statement April, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.
- From the Glasgow Archæological Society:—Report for Session 1883-84. 8vo. Glasgow. 1885.
- From the American Oriental Society:—Proceedings at Baltimore. October, 1884. 8vo. 1884.
- From Johns Hopkins University:—Johns Hopkins University Studies. Third Series. February and March, 1885. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.
- From the Editor:—The American Journal of Archæology. Vol. I. No. 1. 8vo. Baltimore. 1885.
- From the Editor:—The American Journal of Philology. Vol. V. No. 4. December, 1884. 8vo. Baltimore. 1884.
- From the Editor:—The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal. Vol. VII. No. 2. March, 1885. Chicago. 1885.
- From the Author:—A Manual of Bible History. By Rev. W. G. Blaikie, D.D., LL.D. New edition. 8vo. London. 1882.
- From the Author:—The Old Testament Explained. By W. H. Brown, B.A. 8vo. London. 1885.
- From the Author:—De Gorgone. By Janus Six. 8vo. Amsterdam. 1885.
- From the Author:—Kambysés a Podání Starovêké. [Kambysés and the ancient Reports.] Sepsal Dr. Justin v. Prášeh. 8vo. V. Praze. 1885.
- From the Author:—Notices of Fungi in Greek and Latin Authors. By Rev. W. Houghton, M.A.
 - Reprinted from the Annals and Magazine of Natural History. 1885.
- From the Author:—The Cradle of the Shan Race. By Terrien de Lacouperie. 8vo. 1885.
 - From the Author:—A Vindication of the Authenticity of the Elephant Pipes and Inscribed Tablets. By Charles E. Putnam. 8vo. Davenport. 1885.
 - From the Author:—Archaic Forms of Babylonian Characters. By Theo. G. Pinches. 8vo.
 - From the Author:—Additions and Corrections to the Fifth Volume of the Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia. By Theo. G. Pinches. 8vo.

From the Author:—Babylonische Busspsalmen, Umschrieben, Uebersetzt, und Erklärt. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung des Philosophischen Doctorgrades der Universität Leipzig. Von Heinrich Zimmern. 8vo. Leipzig. 1885.

From F. Cope-Whitehouse:—Christian Thought. Vol. II. No. 5. March-April, 1885. 8vo. New York. 1885.

Reprint from the above:—Where is the Land of Goshen? By F. Cope-Whitehouse. 8vo. New York. 1885.

From J. Sidebotham:—Antiquities of Egypt. [By W. Osburn.] 8vo. London. 1841.

From J. Sidebotham:—Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa. By E. Robinson and E. Smith. In three volumes. 8vo. London 1841.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on May 5th, 1885:—

J. Deubner, Moscow.

Rev. William H. Hechler, British Chaplain, Strassburg. James Melliss Stuart, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:--

The Museum of Science and Art, Edinburgh.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on June 2nd, 1885:—

Rev. James E. Denison, M.A., Cuddesdon College, Wheatley.

Orrando Perry Dexter, 50, West 56th Street, New York City.

Rev. Prebendary E. C. S. Gibson, Wells Theological College, Wells.

F. Gurdon, Attleborough, Norfolk.

Richard S. Hulbert, 51, Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, N.W.

Fáris Nimr, American Mission House, Cairo.

Richard Reid, Kirkintilloch, Scotland.

Rev. Ulric Z. Rule, Forton, Gosport.

Rev. Edward J. Tyser, M.A., St. Saviour's Vicarage, Hoxton.

Prof. Dr. Justin v. Prášeh, Bohemia, Kolín.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

Wells Theological College Library, Wells, Somerset.

The Secretary announced that in reply to a request to obtain if possible, during his recent visit to Constantinople, squeezes of the Hamath Inscriptions, Mr. F. D. Mocatta had obtained good plaster casts of them, which he had very kindly presented to the Society. Mr. Rylands referred to the difficulties surmounted by the Rev. Dr. Wright in obtaining materials with which to take the first casts sent by him to England, already published by the Society. The new ones, for which the Society was indebted to Mr. Mocatta, being taken with every convenience at hand, necessarily were in places more perfect, and cleared up some points as to dividing lines, &c., doubtful up to the present time. After a careful examination of the new casts, and after having made careful drawings from them, there appeared to be but little to change in the series of plates published by the Society at the end of Vol. VII of the Transactions. If, however, on again collating the two copies it appeared necessary to issue new plates, Mr. Rylands stated that he should ask the Council to allow him to have his later copies issued in the publications of the Society.

Some remarks were added by the Rev. Dr. Wright, and the thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Mocatta, for the trouble he had taken, and for his kind gift to the collections of the Society.

The Secretary exhibited on behalf of Mr. W. Simpson the photograph of an antiquity discovered at Hamadan, and stated that it was similar to a copy already received from the Rev. S. S. Lewis. Mr. Pinches in describing it said:—

Judging from the appearance of the objects shown in the photograph, they are parts of the bases or capitals of two columns or similar objects, circular in shape and hollow in the middle, the section of the outer part being half-round—evidently parts of the mouldings. Each contained, when perfect, a threefold inscription, one being ancient Persian, another Median, and the third Semitic Babylonian. The nearer fragment in the photograph contains parts of the Persian and Babylonian versions, being the beginnings of

seven lines of the former and the ends of four of the latter; and the farther fragment contains parts of the Babylonian and the Median versions, the beginnings of five lines of the former and the ends of five lines of the latter. As the surface is curved, all the lines are not shown on the photograph. The wanting parts are restored from the rendering of the Persian text given by Spiegel, in "Die altpersischen Keilinschriften," Leipzig, 1881, pp. 68-69; and that of the Babylonian by Bezold, in "Die Achämenideninschriften," Leipzig, 1882, pp. 44-45. I shall probably return to the subject of this inscription in a future number of the *Proceedings*. The text refers to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and is as follows:—

"Says Artaxerxes the great king, the king [of kings, the king of countries, the king of] this earth, the son of Darius the king: Darius was the son of Artaxerxes [the king, Artaxerxes was the son of Xerxes the king], Xerxes was the son of Darius, the king, Darius was the son of [Hystaspes] the Achaemenian. Darius my ancestor built this palace [upon this mountain (?). In the time of Artaxerxes fire burned it.] Under the protection of Ormuzd, Anaitu, and Mitra [I have rebuilt this palace. May Ormuzd, Anaita, and Mitra protect me from all evil, and may they not destroy or spoil what I have done]."

Some remarks were made by R. N. Cust, on the "Excavations in progress or lately completed in Egypt," in which he described his visits, during a recent tour, to many of the ancient temples, and other places of interest.

Remarks were added by Messrs. Walter Morrison (Vice-President), Walter Myers, and the President.

A Translation of the following Communication from M. E. Revillout, entitled, "Notes on some Demotic Documents in the British Museum," was read by the Secretary.

J'ai presque achevé le rapport que m'a demandé mon cher maître et ami, le Dr. Birch—notre vénéré Président—sur les ostraca démotiques nouvellement acquis par le Musée Britannique. En attendant que je puisse vous envoyer cette pièce, je vais suivre votre conseil en vous en donnant, pour la prochaine séance de mai, un idée très sommaire.

Comme les ostraca grecs publiés par le Dr. Birch, et qui sont de même provenance, au moins en partie, ceux dont je viens de m'occuper contiennent un très grand nombre de reçus d'impots. Quelques uns de ces reçus sont d'époque romaine. J'avais déjà signalé * un reçu portant le No. 7173 au Musée du Louvre, et qui, en démotique, a des formules absolument identiques à celles des tessères grecques de l'an 3 de Caius Caligula, et de l'an 13 de Néron, publiées par Dr. Birch dans les Proceedings de notre Societé (mars, 1883, pp. 86 et 87): "A versé Harpaési, fils de Psenoua, pour l'argent de la capitation de l'an 1er de Tiberios Claudios César Sébastos Germanicos Autocrator, le 17 Epiphi, 4 sekels;" 4 sekels ou tétradrachmes d'argent font juste 16 drachmes, taux le plus ordinaire de la capitation jusqu'aux premières années de Trajan. J'en ai trouvé d'autres analogues au British Museum. Le No. 12614, de formule semblable, est un reçu de 5 sekels, de l'an 22 de César (sic) (voir aussi les Nos. 12586, de l'an 9 de Tibère, et 12600, d'un César indéterminé). Le No. 12581, de l'an 1er de Néron Claude César Sébastos Germanicos Autocrator, se rapporte aussi à la capitation ou plutôt à la tête appelée ici Tep au lieu de Apau. Mais le reçu, galement de 5 sekels, est sous la forme des quittances ordinaires: "Psennouter dit à Hor Ut'a: Je te donne quittance des 5 sekels, etc."

Il faut bien dire que ces reçus romains—les moins nombreux d'ailleurs au British Museum—sont loin d'être les pièces les plus intéressantes des nouvelles acquisitions. Les plus nombreuses, et les plus curieuses, ce sont celles d'époque ptolemaïque.

Je mentionnerai d'abord un assez grand nombre de bilingues, dont deux, surtout, ont la plus grande importance. L'un, le No. 12623, vient definitivement terminer une grosse question monétaire. Dans mes lettres à M. Lenormant, publiées dans ma Revue Égyptologique, j'avais établi—par une foule d'arguments trop longs pour être énumérés ici—que l'argenteus égyptien (ancien outen d'argent) représentait dans les textes démotiques vingt drachmes grecques, comme son 5°, le sekel, (בשלבי), était le tétra drachme ptolémaïque. Déjà il y a deux ans, un bilingue du British Museum, la planchette 5849, avait après coup confirmé ma théorie en traduisant par 3 argenteus et ½ les Δραχμ. εβδομηκοντα du texte grec. Cette fois, dans notre nouveau texte, nous trouvons deux

^{*} Revue Egyptologique et annuaire de la société de numismatique.—Lettre & Mr. Charles Robert.

assimilations: l'une de 139 argenteus avec 2,780 drachmes, l'autre de 83 argenteus avec 1,660 drachmes. Les plus incrédules seront bien forcés de se rendre.

Le bilingue No. 12618 a un autre genre d'intérêt. C'est le reçu d'un impot payable en blé—du genre de ceux que nous avions depuis longtemps en grec seul. Il a l'avantage de confirmer expressément une des assimilations données par moi dans mon travail sur les mesures de capacité. Les deux textes portent le même chiffre d'artabes, et la sigle démotique correspondant à l'artabe est bien celle à laquelle j'avais donné cette valeur.

D'autres textes, et en bon nombre, se rapportent à des adjurations, c'est-à-dire à ce que vous nommerions en français le serment décisoire, à la suite de procès. Nous avons une série d'affaires très variées. Le No. 12609 est le serment prêté par deux frères chargés de cultiver l'île d'Amran au nom de deux autres égyptiens et qui jurent de ne pas avoir volé l'un au profit de l'autre : "Copie du serment qu'à fait Petsexi, fils de Paneternext (Péchytès), Thottoote, fils de Paneternext, qu'ils ont fait devant le Ka de Manun * à Nespouto, fils de T'i-hor-pto, en l'an 20, Pharmouthi 29,—à savoir :—

"Adjuré soit le Ka de Manun qui repose à jamais avec tout dieu qui repose avec lui! Les autres mesures que nous t'avons versées en ta maison, en l'an 20, pour l'île d'Amran, nous ne t'avons pas versé mesure d'elles pour le champ de tekem (***u***) sur lequel Petsuten a fait location. Nous n'avons pas apporté un fruit de ce champ à la maison, nous n'avons pas fait apporter par quelqu'un en notre nom!

"Ils ont fait ce serment pour qu'il (Petsuten) s'éloignât d'eux. S'ils s'écartent pour ne pas faire ainsi, qu'ils donnent une grande et une petite mesure par chaque grande mesure de tekem. Il n'y a pas de mensonge dans ce serment. Ce serment a été reçu dans la main d'Amnas, fils de Symmaque, l'an 20, 29 Pharmouthi."

Le No. 12602 contient le serment prêté par une veuve (Tatuhor) à l'héritier de son mari. Il s'agissait du réglement de compte de la succession. Tatuhor est forcée de s'expliquer au sujet d'une

^{*} Pour ce nom de lieu voir ma nouvelle "Chrestomathie démotique," p. 17, et Brugsch, "Dict. Géographique," pp. 260, 261. Le lieu de Mont neb Manun, pa neb Manun, traduit repapua dans le papyrus bilingue de Berlin, est nommé plusieurs fois dans nos ostraca (Nos. 12536, 12613, 12065). Le serment est alors fait par Mont neb Manun. Le Ka seigneur de Manun parait un synonyme. Le mot Ka, dont Mr. Le Page Renouf a si bien precisé le sens, est écrit ici comme le mot Ka taureau. (V. 12621 et 12602.)

somme litigieuse de 200 argenteus (4,000 drachmes). Elle affirme qu'elle n'a rien détourné de la succession et réclame une somme de 500 argenteus (1 talent et 4,000 drachmes) lui revenant. Ce document, très intéressant, fait songer de suite à cette clause de certains contrats de mariage démotiques par laquelle le mari exemptait sa femme du serment à prèter plus tard au sujet de ce qu'elle avait apporté, en lui en donnant reçu d'avance. A l'époque chrétienne cette coutume s'est maintenue, et dans plusieurs papyrus coptes du Musée Britannique il en est encore question.

Parmi les autres adjurations je signalerai le No. 12621 relatif à une accusation de vol. Héreius jure n'avoir rien volé au choachyte Panofré fils de Nextmont, et particulièrement de ne pas lui avoir enlevé dans les salles de liturgies de la nécropole certaines mesures de vin qui y étaient déposées. Voir pour les vols dans les catacombes la plainte grecque du choachyte Osoroer, qu'a publiée M. Letronne, et qu'on a comparée aux données beaucoup plus anciennes du papyrus Abbot, ainsi qu'un curieux papyrus démotique de Musée Britannique signalant un voleur et dont j'aurai bientot à parler. En ce qui touche le vin déposé dans les catacombes il faut se rappeler le réglement des choachytes que j'ai publié dans la Zeitschrift de M. Lepsius. Ce règlement interdit de transporter hors de la nécropole le vin que les choachytes devaient y boire, à certains jours fixés, en l'honneur des défunts.

Le No. 12574 est une adjuration constatant qu'une créance de 200 argenteus a été compensée par des travaux de maçonnerie. Le No. 12574 est la revendication en liberté d'une esclave en faveur de laquelle un membre de la famille du possesseur prête serment. Le No. 12575 établit que Pséchons n'a jamais reçu de Panas aucune femme esclave; le No. 12619 que Kerpoun n'a jamais abondonné sa maison à T'ihorpto, et qu'au contraire il lui a payé les 160 argenteus qu'il lui devait. Ce document montre la véracité de Diodore de Sicile nous affirmant qu'en droit égyptien—à défaut de pièces écrites—le débiteur était appelé à prêter serment. J'ai expliqué dans mon cours de droit égyptien que c'était de cet usage que venait le nom de sanch (faire adjurer) appliqué à toutes les créances. Mais ce n'était là qu'une preuve indirecte. Les preuves positives arrivent maintenant: nous avons au Louvre une autre adjuration uniquement relative à une créance, et à la suite de laquelle, sur le revers du même ostracon, on voit un reçu constatant l'exécution immediate de l'arrêt. pièces doubles sur une même affaire sont particulièrement intéressantes.

Le British Museum posséde sur papyrus un serment fait par un frère aîné au sujet des biens mobiliers qui lui avaient été laissés par sa mère et qu'il affirme lui avoir été donnés à lui seul. Les frères sont aussitôt obligés de s'exécuter et de rédiger un acte de cession définitive. On peut aussi comparer aux données fournies par le No. 12619 une adjuration de Turin, que j'ai déjà publiée, et sur laquelle je reviendrai. Tandis que dans notre ostracon on affirme qu'il n'y a pas eu vente de maison, dans le papyrus de Turin il s'agit d'établir, au contraire, la réalité d'une vente.

Les Nos. 12065 et 12534 ne sont que des fragments. Cependant j'aurai à en dire aussi quelques mots dans mon mémoire développé. Un fait surtout me frappe dans ces diverses adjurations sur tessères du British Museum c'est que toutes proviennent du même lieu, Pamont-neb-Manun. Elles ont été prononcées au temple de Montneb-Manun, auquel le papyrus 121 de Berlin, et le réglement des choachytes déjà cité plus haut font payer toutes les amendes dues par ces sortes de prêtres pour leurs infractions soit contractuelles soit disciplinaires. M. Brugsch considère Manun, région indiquée sur le temple de Medinet-Habu, comme le nom générique de la chaine occidentale près de Thèbes, tandis que Pamont-neb-Manun est certainement le lieu d'une bourg déterminé nommé repapua par les bilingues. Mais où est ce bourg? Sans aucun doute—on le voit par l'ensemble de nos documents-sur la rive occidentale, du côté de Medinet-Habu, de Dième et d'Hermonthis. Vos adjurations fontelles partie des ostraca démotiques provenant du côté d'Erment (ou d'Hermonthis), dont parle notre confrère Mr. Sayce? Il serait alors très important de préciser le point exact de la découverte.

Ce qui est indubitable c'est que la plupart des ostraca démotiques du British Museum viennent d'une tout autre région de Thèbes, également signalée par Mr. le Professeur Sayce dans les Proceedings. Je veux parler de ces maisons coptes situés au nord de Karnak, et qu'on a démolies les années dernières. Ces maisons coptes ne sont pas autre chose que les propriétés occupées au début de la dynastie des Lagides par les choachytes dont une cruche découverte à Thèbes au commencement de ce siècle nous a conservé les papiers, tant démotiques que grecs. Je ne saurais peindre la surprise que j'ai éprouvée lors de mon dernier voyage à Londres en constatant tout d'abord que bon nombre de ces ostraca avaient appartenu à Panas, fils de Pchelchons, choachyte vivant sous Philadelphe, et dont les papyrus de Paris et un autre que se trouve à Londres m'avaient fait

le vieil ami. Il habitait en effet une maison, toujours soigneusement décrite, située au nord de Thèbes, près du temple de Mont neb Uas,* et qui avait été acquise par sa mère Neschons en l'an 13 du roi Alexandre, fils d'Alexandre (Papyrus 2440 et 2427 du Louvre).† Quand ses enfants furent grands et mariables, Neschons disposa elle même de cette maison dans deux actes, dont l'un porte au Louvre le No. 2424 et l'autre au British Museum le No. 10121. Le contrat du Louvre est daté de l'an 19, Athyr, du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée, et de Ptolémée, son fils. Il est adressé au cadet Patma, qui allait épouser sa première femme Tsémin, et lui cédait moitié de la maison. L'aîné, notre Panas, fils de Pchelchons, ne se maria que deux ans après à sa femme Tathot. Aussi est-ce seulement à cette époque que sa mère l'établit, en lui donnant l'autre moitié de la maison, dans l'acte de Londres daté de l'an 21 de roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée, ‡ et de Ptolémée, son fils."

A partir de ce moment, Panas, fils de Pchelchons, avait une personnalité, et nous trouvons-dans les ruines de sa maison du nord de Thèbes-une foule d'ostraca de Panas, fils de Pchelchons, datés des ans 21, 22, et 24 du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée, et de Ptolémée, son fils (Nos. 5781, 5766, 5780, 5784, 5787, 5788, et 5775). Puis, depuis l'an 26 de ce comput de Philadelphe, Ptolémée Soter n'est plus associé honorairement à la couronne de son fils. Il est devenu, dans les protocoles, Ptolémée le dieu, et nous avons montré dans notre lettre à Mr. Charles Robert sur les monnaies égyptiennes (Annuaire de numismatique), que c'est à cette année 25e que le nom de ΣΩΤΗΡ parait sur les monnaies de culte frappées en l'honneur du 1er des Lagides. Or justement, c'est à l'an 25 de Philadelphe que commence la série des reçus de Panas, fils de Pchelchons, datés comme les papyrus sans aucune mention du règne nominal de Soter. Nous citerons les Nos. 5774 de l'an 27, 5784 de l'an 29, et 5778 de l'an 30, etc., Vient, enfin, un reçu de Panas (No. 5724) daté de l'an 2 d'Evergète, c'est-à-dire du moment même où son frère Patma cédait définitivement sa moitié de la maison à sa

^{*} Voir pour ce temple le plan de M. Brugsch annexé à mon article : "Données typographiques sur Thèbes" (Revue égyptologique, 1re année, No. IV, plate 12).

[†] Celui qui venait de lui vendre cette maison l'avait acquise récemment d'un créancier auquel il l'avait d'abord engagée par une vente à réméré. (Papyrus 2442)

[‡] Pour ce nom de Ptolémée Soter et pour toutes les questions chronologiques afférant à nos protocoles, voir mes "Notes chronologiques sur l'histoire des Lagides," publiées en tête de la 1re-année de ma Revue égyptologique.

seconde femme. En effet, Patma avait perdu assez tôt sa première femme Tsémin, dont il avait des enfants. Il se remaria à une nommée Takétem en l'an 33 du roi Ptolémée fils de Ptolémée le dieu, Aétos, fils d'Apollonius, étant prêtre d'Alexandre et des dieux-frères Démétria, fille de Dionysios, étant canéphore devant Arsinoë Philadelphe (Papyrus 2433 du Louvre). Déjà à ce moment il faisait à sa nouvelle épouse d'extraordinaires avantages, lui donnait hypothèque sur tous ses biens et lui en livrait les titres. Trois ans après, en l'an 36,* il lui faisait un billet de créance pour une dette fictive, et lui promettait de lui abandonner tous ses biens (y compris la moitié de maison, toujours soigneusement décrite, qu'il avait reçue de sa mère dans le contrat, déjà cité, de l'an 19), s'il ne lui avait pas payé sa dette trois ans ou 36 mois après, c'est-à-dire, en l'an 39 (Papyrus 2443 du Louvre). Philadelphe mourut dans l'intervalle. et le 36º mois tomba en l'an 2 d'Evergète; Patma s'exécuta alors et céda à Takétem sa moitié de maison et tous ses biens, dans un contrat portant le No. 2338 au Louvre, et qui est daté de l'an 2 du roi Ptolémée, fils de Ptolémée et d'Arsinoë, les dieux-A peu de temps de là sans doute il mourut. craignant alors d'être poursuivie pour captation si elle ne faisait pas rentrer l'hérédité au moins dans une partie de la famille de son mari, disposa, sous forme de vente, de la moitié de la maison en question et des autres biens héréditaires, en faveur du fils de notre Panas, fils de Pchelchons, qui possédait de son chef l'autre moitié (Papyrus 2431 du Louvre). Il paraît, du reste, que cette branche de la famille céda à son tour la maison aux enfants du voisin du sud Petamensutento, fils de Pchelel. Nous n'avons plus l'acte de vente, mais bien d'autres actes relatifs à cette affaire. Nous citerons surtout un billet de créance souscrit en l'an 15 d'Evergète par Pchelchons, fils de Panas et de Tathot, c'est-à-dire, celui-là même auquel sa tante avait cédé moitié de la maison. La créancière est une femme, la petite fille de Pchlel, qui paraît aussi avoir séduit le cœur de Pchelchons (Papyrus 2429). Quoi qu'il en soit, en l'an 20 d'Evergète, la maison est réunie tout entière à l'une des maisons héréditaires de la famille Pchelel, à laquelle elle touchait lors des partages de la famille (Papyrus 2425 et 2441 du Louvre). Aussi ne faut-il pas nous étonner de rencontrer à côté des ostraca de Panas. fils de Pchelchons, d'autres ostraca appartenant à leurs anciens

^{*} Le protocole est identique sauf les noms des prêtres éponymes.

voisins devenus leurs héritiers, c'est-à-dire, à la famille Pchelel dont la généalogie est soigneusement indiquée dans le Papyrus 2425. Comme, d'ailleurs, on ne s'est pas borné à renverser la maison de Panas, mais aussi les autres maisons coptes qui les entouraient, nous avons un très grand nombre d'ostraca, provenant des voisins nommés dans nos papyrus du temps de Philadelphe, notamment de la famille de Petnofréhotep, le voisin nord, de ses fils, belles filles gendres, etc. On peut reconstruire ainsi toute l'histoire de cette famille contemporaine de celle des Panas, et payant ses impôts aux mêmes receveurs.

J'aurais bien des choses à dire à ce propos, ainsi que sur les receveurs, les divers genres d'impôts, fort intéressants,* les recus, les sous-seings privés et autres pièces de toute espèce, sans compter les questions chronologiques et autres. Mais il faut réserver tout cela pour mon mémoire. Permettez-moi seulement de conclure en demandant instamment une description précise et détaillée de la situation de ces prétendues maisons coptes qui paraîssent avoir été détruites ou avoir été abandonnées, au moins pour la première fois, sous Evergète I, puisque tous les documents démotiques qu'elles renferment sont antérieurs à cette époque, et datés surtout du règne de Philadelphe. Les héritiers de notre famille mentionnent, encore sous Evergète II. une maison en ruines, sise au nord de Thèbes. Serait-ce celle-là? Ce qui est certain c'est qu'à ce moment nos choachytes habitaient soit à Dième soit dans des maisons au sud de Thèbes que j'ai décrites dans mon article: - "Données géographiques et topographiques (Revue Égyptologique, 1er année, p. 172, et suiv.) sur Thèbes." l'annoncais alors une suite sur le quartier nord de Thèbes d'après les données fournies par les contrats que je viens de citer. Cette suite, aidez-moi à la publier en me faisant transmettre les détails suffisants sur les maisons coptes récemment renversées au nord de Karnak.†

Thanks were returned for these communications.

- * Je noterai parmi les plus curieux un sur l'huile, un sur le sel, et un (d'une drachme) sur chaque mort transporté à la catacombe.
- † Au moment où je corrige les épreuves je viens de recevoir de Mr. Walter Myers une lettre datée du 15 Mai qui me donne les renseignements désirés par moi (sauf le plan des ruines tout-à-fait exact qui fait encore défaut) sur les maisons de Panas, fils de Pchélchons, et de ses voisins. Ces renseignements confirment tout ce que j'ai dit dans cet article. Je compte les utiliser dans une note que j'enverrai pour la prochaine séance de Juin. Restent à obtenir des détails sur les trouvailles d'ostraca du côté d'Erment et de Djème que Professeur Sayce veuille bien rassembler ses souvenirs.

The following Communications have been received from Professor Sayce:—

AN INSCRIPTION OF ASSUR-BANI-PAL FROM TARTUS.

Mr. Löytved, the Danish Vice-Consul at Beyrût, has been kind enough to send me the squeeze of a cuneiform inscription which he has lately discovered under circumstances of considerable interest. The inscription is on a piece of limestone, nine centimeters thick, which was brought by the Turkish Government from Tartûs along with other fragments of stone. Mr. Löytved noticed it when lying in the yard of the governor's house at Beyrût, and observing some characters upon it, obtained leave to have it cleaned. The result was the discovery of an inscription engraved by order of Assur-bani-pal in honour of the goddess Beltis. Other copies of the same inscription have long been known, and the text has been published, with a translation, by Mr. George Smith, in his "History of Assur-bani-pal," pp. 303-305. See also W.A.I., II, 66.

What gives Mr. Löytved's discovery its peculiar interest is the locality from which the inscription has come. Tartûs is the Antarados of classical geography, opposite Arados, or Arvad, the modern Ruâd. After the suppression of the revolt of the Tyrians, Yakinlu the king of Arvad rendered homage to Assur-bani-pal, and on his death the Assyrian monarch selected his successor, Azi-bahal, from among his numerous sons. It seems probable that the building from which the inscription discovered by Mr. Löytved has been brought was erected about this time. If so, the death of Yakinlu would have taken place immediately after the overthrow of Elam.

The forms of the characters used in the inscription are Babylonian; but I suspect that the engraver was a Syrian, since they are not always correctly drawn. Thus EYYYY always appears as EYYY except in line 18, AY is often written EY, YY is made YE in line 16, EYYYE is EYYE in line 19, and in line 11 Year is actually Ye. Hence it is likely that the inscription was accompanied by others in the Phœnician alphabet and language, and it would therefore be desirable to examine what may yet remain of the building from which it has come.

Here is the text, with its translation:-

- I. Y -- Y -- EY -- TO Beltis, lady of the world, dwelling in Bit-Elat,
- 2. \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow \rightarrow rubu pa-likh \rightarrow sa Assur-bani-pal, king of Assyria, the prince who worships her,
- 3. sakkanaku bin-ut qati-sa sa ina ki-bi-ti
 the sakkanaku, the creation of her hands, who by the command
 sa rab-tay

of her great

- 4. ina kit ru ub ta kha zi ik ki śu
 in the conflict of battle had cut off
- 5. qaq-ku[sic]-du Te-um-man sar D.P. NUM-MA-KI

 the head of Teumman the king of Elam;
- 6. u \ Um man i gas \ Tam ma ri tu \ Pa h e and as for Ummanigas, Tammaritu, Pahe,
- 7. Y Um-man-al-das sa arki Y Te-um-man epu-su (and) Umman-aldas who after Teumman exercised
- 8. sar(r) ut D.P. NUM KI ina tukul ti sa rab ti kingship over Elam in the service of her great
- 9. qa-ti iksud śu nu ti va ina GIS GAR sa da di
 my hand captured them, and in the spacious car
- 10. ru du sar(ru) ti ya atsbat śu nu ti

 my royal chariot I took them.
- 11. u ina zik-ri-sa kabti ina kul-lat matati atallik-u-va

 And in her glorious name through all lands have I marched and
- 12. gab-ri NU TUK-u ina YU-me-su kiśal bit D.P. RI a rival not have I had. At that time the altar of the temple of Istar
- 13. belati ya ina pi i li es ki si kit ta su
 my lady in cut stone I carved; its fabric
- 14. u-rab-bi ana sa-at-ti D.P. NIN-KIT

 I made large for the sake of Beltis.
- 15. kiśal su a tav ina [pan] ma khir si uk-ki

 This altar before her I consecrated.

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- 17. rab ti baladh YU MES BU MES dhub lib bi
 great, life, long days, soundness of heart
- 18. ki bi is va, DU DU ku bit MAS MAS grant, and the road to Bit-Elat
- 19. lu hu bi ra sepa â
 may I traverse on my feet.

THE INSCRIPTION OF TARKONDÊMOS.

During the last few months so many unwise things have been written about the Hittites and their hieroglyphics, and so many misstatements about the cuneiform inscriptions have been made in connection with them, that I am very glad to find Mr. Pinches coming forward in the last number of the *Proceedings* of this Society, to discuss in a scholarly manner the now-famous boss of King Tarkondemos. I had not intended to return to the subject, but his communication induces me to show why I cannot agree with his alternative rendering of the text.

His first rendering of the title of Tarkondemos is the same as mine—"king of the country of Erme"—and is, in fact, the rendering which an Assyriologist would naturally give. I need hardly tell those who have had much experience of cuneiform texts that the first character in the proper name is not zu, but er or eri; those who are not Assyrian scholars may refer to the syllabary in my "Elementary Assyrian Grammar," Nos. 20 and 104, in order to see the difference between the forms of the two signs. Fortunately, moreover, the character is one which is not polyphonous in proper names; it reads only er (or eri). But it so happens that when used ideographically it is employed as the determinative of the name of a city. Mr. Pinches, therefore, very ingeniously asks whether we may not translate "the country of the city of water." To this question, however, the answer must be, No; and for the following reasons:—

(1.) It is only in Assyrian that $m\ell$ signifies "water." In Hebrew and Phoenician the corresponding word is always the plural (construct), and the Aramaic form of it is (\mathfrak{P}), while

the Arabic and Ethiopic forms are equally unlike the Assyrian, and were, moreover, employed by populations which had no contact with Asia Minor. Unless, therefore, we suppose that the subjects of Tarkondêmos the Kilikian spoke Assyrian, we cannot ascribe to them the word $m\hat{e}$ in the sense of "water."

- (2.) Tarkondêmos cannot have used the characters ideographically, as the Semitic Babylonians used the old Babylonian characters, giving to them a Semitic pronunciation, since in this case "the phonetic complement" (the vowel e) would not have been used and we should have had in place of it the ideograph of plurality \(\frac{1}{2}\).
- (3.) It is difficult to believe that Tarkondêmos would have translated the name of his city into Assyrian, unless his subjects spoke Assyrian, and did not understand the meaning of the name of their own city. An Assyrian lexicographer writing at Nineveh might very conceivably translate into his own language the names of foreign places of which he happened to know the signification: in the case of a Kilikian king such a proceeding would have been senseless.

So much for the name of the county over which Tarkondêmos ruled. It was called Erme or Erime, reminding us of the Αριμοι of the Greeks. That it was in Kilikia results from the fact that the names of Tarkondêmos and Tarkondimotos are Kilikian, and are found only among Kilikians and Pisaurians. This fact was long ago pointed out by Mordtmann.

Mr. Pinches' reading of the royal name itself is most ingenious, and I wish I could see my way towards accepting it. But two difficulties present themselves. (1) The character which follows tar has, it is true, been misformed by the native artist, but it bears a closer resemblance to the Assyrian , rik, than it does to , qu, followed by (, u. (2) The Greek transcription of the name shows that the second element in it began with d. Now it is a well-known rule of Assyrian phonetics that d becomes t after a preceding "hard" consonant, but not after a "soft" consonant or a vowel. Consequently timme with t presupposes a preceding k.

Neither of these two difficulties, however, is insurmountable; we *might* read *dim* instead of *tim*, while the vocalisation of *qu* would admirably suit the Greek form with o.

However this may be, I am unable to follow Mr. Pinches in distinguishing between the Khatti and the Khati of the astrological tablets. The passages quoted by Mr. Pinches were translated by

me more than eleven years ago in my Paper on the Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians (Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. III, Part 1), and as a reference to my translation will show, I took the same view as Mr. Pinches when dealing with the first of the two passages. I had subsequently to change my opinion. Not only is a long vowel interchanged with a double consonant in several of the proper names found on the Assyrian monuments, but it actually is so in the case of the Hittites themselves. Thus Tiglath-Pileser I, in the same inscription, writes the name not only Kha-at-te with a double t, but also Kha-te-e with a single t (W.A.I. III, 5, 15), while the evidence of the Vannic inscriptions is decisive upon the point. In these the name is always spelt Khâte (and Khati) with only one t and a long vowel (see my Memoir on the Vannic Inscriptions in the Journal R.A.S. Vol. XIV, pts. 3 and 4.)

I much doubt whether the references to the Hittites in the astrological tablets are as early as the time of Sargon of Accad. They seem to belong rather to those interpolations and glosses which were perpetually being added to the old work. Thus in the second passage quoted by Mr. Pinches the original reading appears to have been: "the king of a foreign land seizes the throne," the alternative reading, "the king of the Hittites comes and seizes on the throne," being a later gloss. At the same time, the contact between Babylonia and the Hittites must have taken place at a sufficiently early time, since the art and legends of Carchemish were indebted to Babylonia and not to Assyria. Assyria, however, did not rise into notice until the sixteenth century B.C., and I see no reason for supposing that the Hittite occupation of Northern Syria took place much before that date.

I must conclude with a protest against the persistent misrepresentations of my own views and statements regarding the Hittites, which I find have been repeated not only by anonymous amateurs, but even by scholars, who ought to have referred to my "Memoir on the Hittite Monuments," published in the *Transactions* of this Society, and at present the only detailed exposition of my opinions and conclusions, in order to see what it is I really have said. I find myself assumed to be in opposition to the theory which makes the culture of Western Asia Minor emanate from Kappadokia, and traces the prehistoric road-system of Asia Minor to the same locality. I am further told that I maintain that Hittite inscriptions, wherever found, are all in the same language, and that the Hittites themselves were a single

homogeneous people. It is evident that those who credit me with such doctrines have never taken the trouble to read my memoir for themselves. Had they done so, they would have found that what I really have maintained is diametrically the opposite to what I am supposed to have maintained. The keystone of my theory is that the Hittites were a Kappadokian people, and that the ruins of Eyuk and Boghaz Keui testify that they remained so up to the last. In my "Herodotos" I have even gone so far as to suggest that the primitive population of Armenia and the greater part of Asia Minor was allied to them by blood. I have said over and over again that Herodotos and Strabo were wrong in calling the Kappodokians Syrians, or White Syrians. The Hittites were mountaineers; their boots were snow-shoes, their ideograph for "country" represents a mountainous region. Their presence in Syria must be explained by conquest; they drove a wedge, as it were, into the territory of the Semites, and their final overthrow by Sargon the Assyrian marked the ultimate success of their Semitic rivals. The Hittite power was a Kappadodian power, though the Vannic inscriptions prove that we must understand Kappadokia in a large sense.

But I have further tried to show that Histite culture does not begin until after the Hittite occupation of northern Syria, and the establishment of Hittite kingdoms at Carchemish, at Hamath, and at Kadesh. This is proved by the character of Hittite art. Hittite art is based on Babylonian models, and therefore presupposes contact with Babylonia. Nay more; the sphinxes of Eyuk, and the image of Niobê in Lydia, indicate acquaintance with Egyptian sculpture, and this again takes us to Kadesh, whose monarchs contended against Egypt, as the Egyptian inscriptions tell us, with the help of subjectallies from Asia Minor. It was not until the Hittite tribes had undergone the influence of Babylonian and Egyptian culture in Syria that it became possible to erect the monuments, which have been almost our sole clue in the reconstruction of what has been termedfor want of a better name—the Hittite empire.

Some of these monuments were, I believe, the records of conquest; others were the work of the indigenous inhabitants of the countries in which they are found, who had passed under the influence of Hittite art. The boss of Tarkondêmos is evidently a native Kilikian work, and if the Kilikians belonged to the Hittite family, might be described as the work of the Kilikian tribe of Hittites. On the other hand, the monuments of Karabel and Giaur Kalessi appear

to me to be records of conquest. They represent soldiers commanding the entrance of passes, and thus dominating over the countries to which the passes lead. Moreover, the forms of the characters used on the monument of "the Niobê," and, so far as they are legible, at Karabel, so closely resemble those found at Carchemish as to admit of no other reasonable hypothesis except that they were carved by the same people, more especially when we remember the differences that exist in the forms of the characters used at Carchemish itself, and above all, between the forms employed at Carchemish and at the comparatively neighbouring town of Hamath. This argument, however, I am fully aware, can be thoroughly appreciated only by those who have spent some years in the study of Hittite hieroglyphs.

By way of conclusion, let me quote what I have said in the opening pages of my "Herodotos" (p. 5): "The Syrians of Herodotus (I, ch. vi), were really the Hittites of Carchemish, who did not belong to the Semitic race at all, and had originally descended from the mountainous region of the North . . . Herodotus tells us (I, 72, VII, 72) that the inhabitants of Kappadokia and Kilikia were Syrians, and Hittite remains in the shape of sculptures and inscriptions have been found in these countries. The tribes inhabiting them probably belonged to the same race as the Hittites, and spoke cognate dialects."

After this I hope that I shall not again be credited with believing that Syria and not Kappadokia was the centre of Hittite power, or be called to task for forgetting that the Hittite system of writing may have been used by tribes speaking different languages and belonging to different nationalities. It matters little to me what theories about the Hittites others may hold, so long as they do not ascribe to me opinions which I have never expressed. I am indeed prepared for anything after the statement of an anonymous reviewer of Dr. Wright's interesting book, who gravely alleges that the decipherment of the Hittite hieroglyphs would be a more wonderful feat than 'that of the cuneiform inscriptions. It is clear that he has never heard how the latter were deciphered, and how Grotefend made his famous guesses without the aid of a bilingual text. It is a pity that anonymous reviewers, when they deal with matters of science, do not acquire a little knowledge of the subject about which they write.

A. H. SAYCE.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. Theo, G. Pinches:—

DARIUS'S BARGE.

The accompanying plate gives the Babylonian text of a tablet of the class of contracts, but recording a transaction unique in its way. It seems to refer to work done, by Babylonian workmen, on board the state-barge of Darius, and is of interest not only on account of that circumstance, but also on account of many points connected with the manners, customs, and language of the ancient Babylonians incidentally touched upon. I give here a transcription of the text of the document in Roman characters, with an interlinear translation, followed by a free translation in English:—

76-10-16, 24.

- Ultu ârhi Aari, šatti arba' êšrā
 From the month Iyyar, year twenty-fourth
- 2. Y Da-ri-ia-muš, šarri, Y Ârdi-ia, of Darius, the king, Ardîa,
- 4. ârḥi ûmu, dul-lu ina 🖙 êlippi kar-ra-a šarri for a month of days, work in the festival-ship of the king
- 5. it ti Y Bêl êribā, mâri ša Y Kalba a, with Bêl êribā, son of Kalbâ,
- 6. mâr | Mu-kal-li^m, rab ha an še e šu, son of Mukalli^m his chief of fifty,
- 7. i te bu uš. he has done.
- 8. A-di kit ârbi Tišriti, šatti arba'- êšrā Until the end of the month Tisri, year twenty-fourth
- 9. Y Da-ri-ia-muš, Y Bêl-êribā a-na êli of Darius, Bêl-êribā upon
- 10. dul lu a na ¶ Ârdi ia ûl i di ik ku. the work with Årdia not will cease

TABLET REFERRING TO WORK DONE ON DARIUS'S STATE-BARGE.

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

No. 76-10-16, 24.

- 7. 型图字分《中令
- 3. 野型人图图片新闻外《外·
- 4. 巡过各种(国国-过量及)(型)
- 6. 时一个里面和一个作的一个
- 7. **(erasure)**
- 8. 17 闰 公 区 谷 () 中 夜
- io. 但到141以即你在自私可
- 4 均空下水一大图水瓜 111
- 12. 1 中 (4) 新 | 三 四 ※ 無 | 1
- 13. 12以图图图 1212111221
- 14 | 海外| 超 1 四 1 四 1 平 3 平 4 | 4 1 平 4 | 4 1 平 4
- 12. 罗里三耳中科二耳外口炎
- 16. 巡月外侧外令《》令
- 17. 1 到 州 图 (米 🗢 🛦 (料 旬
- 18.
- 19. 州 河 河 州 野 州

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•

- 12. Y -- Marduk-êribā, mâr Y Bi-ib-bu-u-a;

 Marduk-êribā, son of Bibbūa;
- 13. Y Bêl-lu-mur, mâru ša Y Nabû-âhi-šu;

 Bêl-lûmur, son of Nabû-âhi-šu;
- 14. Ni-din-tu^m, mâru ša Y Kalba-a, mâr Y Mu-kal-li^m.

 Nidintu^m, son of Kalbâ, son of Mukalli^m.
- 15. Rittu: Y Bêl-zarih, mâru ša Y Bêl-iddin. Tin-tir-ki, Scribe: Bêl-sarih, son of Bêl-iddin. Babylon,
- 16. ârhu Du'uzu, ûmu šališšerit, šattu arba' êšrā, month Tammuz, day thirteenth, year twenty-fourth,
- 17. V Da-ri-ia-muš, šar Tin-tir-ki
 Darius, king of Babylon
- 18. u mâtāti.

 and countries.
- 19. Est en ta a an kirî ilk û

 One measure of the plantation they have taken.

FREE RENDERING.

"From the month Iyyar, in the twenty-fourth year of Darius the king, Årdia, son of Kaptia, son of Éa-êpeš-lli, has done work for month of days, with Bêl-êribā, son of Kalbā, son of Mukallim, his captain of fifty, on the state-barge of the king. Until the end of the month Tisri, in the twenty-fourth year of Darius, Bêl-êribā will not cease the work with Ardia.

"Witnesses: Iddin-Marduk, son of Marduk-êribā, son of Bibbūa; Bêl-lûmur, son of Nabû-âḥi-šu; Nidintu^m, son of Kalbâ, son of Mukalli^m.

"Scribe: Bêl-zariḥ, son of Bêl-iddin. Babylon, month Tammuz, thirteenth day, twenty-fourth year of Darius, king of Babylon and countries.

"They have taken one measure from the plantation."

This document, which is dated the thirteenth day of Tammuz, the fourth month of the Babylonian year, states that Ârdîa has done work, along with Bêl-êribā, on the state-barge of the king (Darius), for "a month of days," reckoning from Iyyar, the second month of

the year; the wording here used implying that they began at or near the end of Iyyar, and worked, with probably a few breaks at festive times, all through Sivan, the third month, the total number of days being thirty, the usual length of every Babylonian month. The work was to continue for three months longer, namely, until the end of Tisri, the seventh month of the year. Three witnesses to this contract are named, and then, after the name of the scribe who wrote the document, comes the date, "13th Tammuz, 24th year of Darius;" that is, June, 497 B.C.

NOTEWORTHY EXPRESSIONS.

The meaning of this hitherto unexplained word is very well shown in the following passage, taken from a small tablet from Sipar (Sepharvaim):—

D.P. Zikarē*

(These are) the men

¥ ⟨Œ| Œ| ► ⟨₾|□| ša dul - lu ina êli who work upon

* Or Agrātu, "workmen;" literally, "hirelings," from Agāru, "to hire;" compare

bit zik - kur - ra - tum

the tower

i - pu - šu. Ârah Âbi have done. Month Ab,

[Then follow the names of twenty workmen.]

The first group of the lippu, is the usual word for "ship" (of. the Aram. lippu). Stippu, is the usual word for "ship" (of. the Aram. lippu). Stippu, kar-ra-a, is, judging from the form, borrowed from Akkadian, and seems to be connected with stipped, kar-ru, a word which is translated by subat âdirtu, probably "garment of magnificence," the second word being evidently the same as the Heb. This (INDICAL), "Babylonish garment)," most likely designating something very magnificent—a robe of state. A very common meaning of state, is êdēru, probably the same root as that from which âdirtu comes.

 end of the month." The common meaning of \sim is "to bring to an end," in Babylonian *kata*, root \neg , from which comes *kit* (with \neg for \neg , as is usual in Babylonian, before *i*). For the form compare *nis* (root \neg), *nik* (root \neg), etc.

Line 10. E A TEN, idikka, present or future Kal of dika, "to put an end to." Original meaning probably "to break off."

Root 707 (compare the Hebrew 707 and 807).

With regard to the numerals, I have preferred to put the probable Babylonian-Assyrian forms, rather than transcribe, in the usual conventional way, "XIV KAM," and so forth; the probably incorrect being better, in my opinion, than the certainly wrong.

Judging from line 19, which is a sort of postscript, the work was paid for in kind, and they had already taken "one measure from the plantation," and a similar allowance was probably to be paid until the work was ended. The whole contract, which is unusual as to form and nature, gives a most interesting insight into Babylonian customs. The "work" was probably the building and decorating of the royal state-barge in question, and the time estimated for the whole, namely, four months, would therefore not be excessive. Ardia and Bêl-êriba were probably the contractors for the work, employing a number of men, who must have been very skilled workmen. The Babylonians, being near the sea-coast, and having two large rivers running through their country, were naturally great ship-builders.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. le Page Renouf:—

SEB, THE GREAT CACKLER.

Professor Lieblein's communication on this subject in our March Proceedings, calls for some remarks, which I make, not for the idle pleasure of contention with a valued fellow-labourer, but because the real facts of the case furnish the best illustration of the mode by which myths have grown up, not only in Egypt, but in most parts of the world.

It was not on account of the shape of any phonetic hieroglyph that the god Seb was likened to a goose. The myth is older than any hieroglyph. The Egyptian word seb, or rather sbu, had from the earliest times different meanings. The identification of Seb with the

earth is recognised in the Ritual of the Pyramids. But the word is also the name of a goose (Denkm. II, 70) on pictures of the same early period; and it is in consequence of this homonymy that Seb is represented as a goose. It was not for the purpose of indicating "his life-giving quality" as a god, that the myth furnishes him with an egg; it does this because it is in the nature of geese to lay eggs, as well as to cackle, and also because the egg which Seb laid was visible to every eye.

Professor Lieblein translates Todt., 54, 2, "this great egg which Seb prepared for the earth." This is not the meaning of which Seb prepared for the earth." This is not the meaning of the meaning of the word with the prepared for the earth. The word with the word with the preposition with the signifies to divide from. The dawn-god Shu is invoked by the younger brother in the story, as who sunders (discerns or distinguishes) wrong from right," D'Orb, 6, 5.

In *Todt.*, 54, 2, the sense is excernere. The egg is sundered or discharged from the earth. But what is the egg in question?

The egg is the Sun, "Rā in his egg," Todt., 17, 50; "He who is in the egg," 42, 21; "the great Hawk coming forth from his egg," 77, 1; "the venerable god who is in his egg," 149, 35.* And in the Metternich stele he is the "Goose egg which comes forth from the Sycamore," that is, from the emerald sky at dawn.

The sun, then, as I have already pointed out, is mythologically considered as an egg parted or discharged from the earth. Every day this egg-like form was seen to issue from the extremity of "the back of Seb," the great Cackler. This is one of the many myths of Sunrise, and it is quite idle to look for any religious idea in it. Myths are metaphors expressive of physical phenomena. It is only in process of time that religious ideas get mixed up with them.

The Hindu myth of the golden egg has undergone considerable changes; but in its earliest form, Pragāpati, the god of the golden germ (Hiranyagarbha), is only a name or epithet of Savitri, the sun.

^{*} It is Rā who says (85, 9), "Unseen is my nest, unbroken is the egg."

Here the Egyptian and the Hindu myths agree; for the same physical phenomenon may suggest to different people the same pictorial description of it. But, when the languages of these people radically differ, all the features of a myth which depend upon language (for instance, the names of deities) must necessarily differ. Every nation might talk of the sun as the "golden egg," but only those in whose language, like the Egyptian, the names of earth and goose are identical, could speak of the sun as the egg laid by Seb.

Seb, as the name of a goose, signifies "the whistler" or "piper." Is sba, is a pipe, reed, or tube. The word is onomatopoietic, like the Indo-European root, whence the Latin sib-ilu-s, hissing, whistling; and the Greek vidow, a tube, are derived. It is remarkable that the Egyptian word seb, signifying goose, has for determinative the tusk, which is the equivalent of , the well known determinative and ideograph of the earth, and is even used in the Pyramid texts instead of the usual sign, ta, the earth.

AN INSCRIBED STONE BOWL.

I AM happy to be able to submit to the Society another of the inscriptions written in the character called "Hittite." Like each successive monument of this class discovered, it furnishes some new characters as well as varied forms of those already We have what may be the same combination as that on the engraved seal found by Sir Henry Layard at Nineveh which I published in May last (Proceedings, No. XLVII, pp. 228, 229), the eagle having become more hieratic in its There is also what appears to be a less carefully cut example than usual of the character 3, and a singular hiero-The figure (commencing glyph somewhat resembling a key. so many of the other inscriptions does not appear; I therefore suspect that whenever we know the interpretation, it will prove not to be historical, but possibly votive. The bowl may have been an offering to some temple or god, or perhaps spoil taken from a foreign temple. The bowl is cut from the same greyish-black stone as the



WH Rylands del.

Hanhart lith.

INSCRIBED STONE BOWL, FOUND AT BABYLON .

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other inscriptions. It is about 9 inches in height, 13 inches across the top, with an inside depth of $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The base is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across, and $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. The hollow inside has been smoothed more carefully than the outside, perhaps from constant wear; and it is curious to note that the base has been hollowed out to a depth of seven-eighths of an inch.

The inscription, unlike most of the others, but like that discovered by Mr. Ramsay at Tyana, is *incised*. I have chosen the circular form as best suited to reproduce an inscription of which we neither know the beginning nor the end.

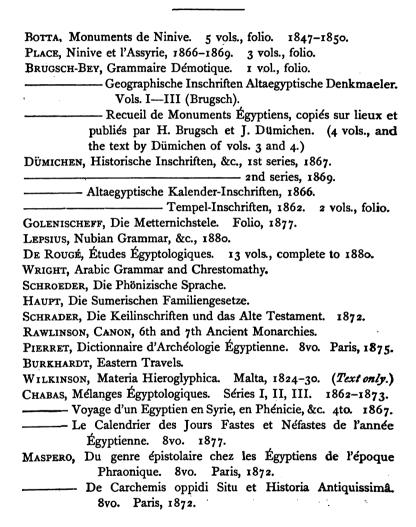
W. HARRY RYLANDS.

N.B.—The plate will be issued with the next number of the *Proceedings*.

The next meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, June 2nd, 1885, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

- I. REV. HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS:—"On the Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III."
- IL THEO. G. PINCHES: "Specimens of the Familiar Correspondence of the Babylonians and Assyrians."
 - III. PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE: "The Site of This."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE . LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

FIFTEENTH SESSION, 1884-85.

Seventh Meeting, 2nd June, 1885.

SAMUEL BIRCH, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., President, in the chair.



The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

- From the Royal Society:—The Proceedings. Vol. XXXVIII. No. 236. 8vo. London. 1885.
- From the Royal Institute of British Architects:—The Proceedings. Session 1884-85. Nos. 13 and 14. May, 1885. 4to. London. 1885.
- From the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland:— The Journal. Vol. XIV, No. 4. May, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.
- From the Geological Society:—The Quarterly Journal. Vol. XLI. No. 162. May, 1885. 8vo. London. 1885.

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- From the Royal Dublin Society:—The Scientific Transactions. Vol. III. Series II. July to November, 1884, and February, 1885.
- From the Royal Dublin Society:—The Scientific Proceedings Vol. IV. New Series. Parts 5 and 6. July, 1884, and January, 1885.
- From the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Comtes Rendus des Séances de l'année 1884. Quatrième série. Tome XII. Bulletin d'Octobre—Novembre—Décembre. 8vo. Paris. 1885.
- From the Society:—Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Histoire, 1885. Forste Hefte. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1885.
- From the Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord:—Mémoires. Nouvelle Série. 1885. 8vo. Copenhagen. 1885.
- From the Author:—Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia. By R. V. Lanzone. Quinta Dispensa. Parte Prima. 4to. Torino. 1885.
- From the Author:—Die gnostische Silbertafel von Badenweiler. By Dr. A. Wiedemann. 4to. Bonn.
- From the Author:—The Khitan Languages. The Aztec and its Relations. By Jno. Campbell, M.A. 8vo.
- From the Author:—The Coins of the Axumite Dynasty. By Col. W. F. Prideaux. London. 1884.
 - Reprinted from the Numismatic Chronicle. Vol. IV. Third Series, pp. 205-219.
- From the Author:—Notes on Professor S. B. Tylor's "Arabian Matriarchate." By J. W. Redhouse. 8vo.
- From the Author:—Le Poéme Chaldéen du Déluge. Par Jules Oppert. 8vo. Paris. 1885.
- From the Author:—Gammelægyptisk Religion. By Professor J. Lieblein. Tredie Del: Udødelighedslæren. 8vo. Christiania. 1885.
- From Professor J. Lieblein:—Ezechiels Syner og Chaldæernes Astrolab. Af C. A. Holmboe. 4to. Christiania. 1885.
- From Dr. S. Birch:—De Incantamentorum Sumerico-Assyriorum Seriei Quae Dicitur Surbu. Tabula Sexta. Commentatio Philologica Quam Scripsit Petrus Jensen. 8vo. Manachii. 1885.

From Professor H. Osgood, D.D. The Baptist Quarterly Review. Vol. VII. No. 26. 8vo. Cincinnati. 1885. From Miss S. M. Woodrooffe: -- Musée du Louvre. Catologue de la Salle Historique de la Galerie Égyptienne. Par Paul Pierret. 8vo. 1873 and 1877. - Sull' Arte Degli Egizi. Del Tito Vespasiano Paravicini. 8vo. Milano. 1875. - Notice des Monuments exposés dans la Galerie d'Antiquities Égyptiennes de Musées du Louvre. Par De Rougé. Quatrième Edition. 8vo. Paris. 1873. - Catalogo Illustrato dei Monumenti Egizii del R. Museo di Torino. By Prof. Pier-Camillo Orcurti. Piano Terreno and Sale al Ouarto Piano. Torino. 1852 and 1855. - Note sur les Noms Égyptiens des Planètes. Par Mons. De Rougé. 8vo. Paris. 1856. - Manuscript Notes and Extracts on Egyptian Scarabæi. - Upon Scarabæus Gems, with an attempt to explain the Hieroglyphics upon them. By J. J. Bellermann. Berlin. Manuscript. English translation of the above. - Renseignements sur les Soixante-Quatre Apis trouvés dans les Souterrains du Sérapéum. By Aug. Mariette. Parts 1 and 2. 4to. Paris.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on May 5th, 1885:—

Rev. James E. Denison, M.A., Cuddesdon College, Wheatley.Orrando Perry Dexter, 50, West 56th Street, New York City.Rev. Prebendary E. C. S. Gibson, Wells Theological College, Wells.

F. Gurdon, Attleborough, Norfolk.

Richard S. Hulbert, 51, Lady Somerset Road, Highgate, N.W. Fáris Nimr, American Mission House, Cairo.

Richard Reid, Kirkintilloch, Scotland.

Rev. Ulric Z. Rule, Forton, Gosport.

Rev. Edward J. Tyser, M.A., St. Saviour's Vicarage, Hoxton.

Prof. Dr. Justin v. Prášeh, Bohemia, Kolín.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

Wells Theological College Library, Wells, Somerset.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated, and, this being the last meeting of the session, by special order of the Council submitted for election:—

Rev. Professor John G. Lansing, Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, U.S.A.

Rev. W. Millar Nicolson, D.Sc. (Edin.), St. Heliers, Jersey. James Scattergood, The Beechey Road, West Bromwich.

A Paper on the Topography of Northern Syria, with special reference to the Karnak Lists of Thothmes III, was read by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins.

In the *Proceedings* of our Society for January, 1883, is contained a communication on the "Ancient Geography of Northern Syria." In continuance of this subject I now beg to lay before the Council and Members the second Karnak list of tributary places.

Mr. Rylands has had prepared, with great accuracy, facsimile plates reproduced from Mariette's "Karnak," including not only the northern list but also that of Palestine. On the latter I hope to offer some notes hereafter, but in the present paper must restrict myself to that which Mariette described as "a supplemental list of 240 names of localities in the north added to one of the copies of the first list." "As to the 240 names," he adds, "the title belonging to them, if it ever existed, had disappeared with the demolished part of the pylon. One can therefore say nothing with certainty on the position of the country whither they carry us, except that we are to the north of Egypt, and in a land whither, in all likelihood, we arrive after having passed through the Upper Ruten." ("Karnak," page 53.)

It is now clear that the distinguished Egyptologist was right.

In the endeavour to throw some light on these names I have neglected nothing within my reach.

Since the end of 1882, when I made my previous communication on this subject, I have met with nothing so important as the last

studies of M. Lenormant, to which I have above referred, cut short by his lamented death on the 9th December, 1883.

The results of his labours I have duly acknowledged.

M. Lenormant cannot have seen the corrected readings given by M. Golenischeff, and this affects some of his suggested identifications. He considers that only 20 names, which he specifies, can be recognized as positively Semitic, viz.: "125. Tel-manna; 137. Uurt [corr. Tsen-rt, Gol.]; 151. Aubillin; 186. Khaduma; 189. Nireb; 190. Theleb; 198. Abatha; 206. Abirnath [corr. Abilteth, Gol.]; 208. Aurma; 217. Tul-Benta; 222. Qarta-Merut; 231. Athrun; 233. Abeth; 282. Maschaua; 287. Abellenu; 306. Aibel ou Aiber; 316. Puroth; 320. Puqiu; 333. Iurima; 348. Retep (Receph)."

May we not venture to add to the list several more, such as: 130. Tsarb; 136. Tsekar; 139. Erets-kna; 141. Bursu; 157. Kharres; 161. Tseker-el; 197. L'tseker; 201. Natub; 202. Tsetarset; 205. Tuaub; 216. Tsetar-seta; 225. Ianu-khu; 249. Ketasha; 252. Sûr; 265. Retama; 292. Talkh; 318. Ari-penekha; 322. Thinnûr?

If this be so, still, omitting about 72 erased or defective names, there will remain more than four-fifths of the entire list of names in this region to be classed as "non-Semitic."

Leaving to philologists the origin and affinities of these names, I have tried to gain some light on their geographical position, so as, if possible, roughly to reconstruct the map of Northern Syria, as known to the "intelligence department" of Thothmes III, the "little corporal" of Pharaonic Egypt, and thus both to help and to stimulate the labours of the traveller and the student.

"Northern Syria," writes M. Rey, "only embraces, properly speaking, one great basin, that of the Orontes, to which those of the Kara-Su and the Afrîn attach themselves, these latter two mingling their waters in the lake of Antioch, which is itself tributary to the Orontes. To the north-east the Sajûr and the Kersîn belong to the basin of the Euphrates, whose course forms the eastern boundary of Syria."

Now taking the results of whatever inquiry I have been able to make, and including all degrees of likelihood, I think that, deducting 72 names as erased or defective, out of the remaining 168 about 50 places will be found to belong to the Orontes basin, and about 20 to that of the Euphrates, with a few outlying to the north, and a

few in the Lebanon and the Phoenician coast. These results agree very well with the course of the campaigns of Thothmes in Syria, and the districts laid by him under tribute.

Let us, for instance, going northwards, take as guiding-points (246) Lebu, Lebweh on the upper stream of Orontes; (141) Bursu, if it be Brisa near Hermel; (279) Khaitu, Hait.

Then (249) Ketasha, if it be Kadesh on Orontes; (122) Amātu, Hamath: (130) Tsarb, Zerbi, south-east of Aleppo; (311) Khalebu, Aleppo; and (127) Tunipa, perhaps Tennib; and (177) Khatsa[tsu], Ezzaz; and (168) Khetsletsau, Kiliza, Kills; and (157) Kharres, Kharis, which leads us further north to (292) Talekh, Dolikhé (Maspero), and to (314) Samāalua, if that be Sam'ala.

Then to the east, on Euphrates take (316) Pureth (the river-name itself?); and (288) Pederi, Pethor, and (270) Karkamasha; and (252) Sûr, capital of Sukhi; and on the Phœnician coast (123) Arethu, Aradus, and perhaps (120) Pilta-u, Paltos.

Then, as instances of subordinate places probably identified, may we not reckon (134) Ara, Arra; (140) Khalka, Khalkis; (189) Nireb, Nerab; (190) Tereb, Tereb; (196) Niashepa, Nisib; (205) Tuaub, Kefr Tôb; (221) Atur, Hatûra; (237) Taleta, Talit; (247) Farina, el Fairyouny; (345) Abshaten*, Bostan; and finally (349) Mauriqa, Mûrik?

I hope Im a not rash in thinking that these and similar guesses are leading us towards some light in the topography of the Hittite land.

It seems to me that while on the one hand we miss the Biblical record of the names, which has been so great a stimulus and help in Palestine (since at the most there are only fourteen Biblical places in this list), and have instead to turn to the Assyrian annals; on the other hand the existing local names in their Syriac rather than Arabic forms are less disguised than those of the Southern list.

We have a land comparatively unknown, unsurveyed, unexplored, to deal with; but I trust the learned scholars and accomplished travellers of our Society will allow me to bespeak their "favourable censure" of my humble contributions towards Hittite topography.

In this paper I have kept within the Northern Syrian list. But I have collected some material bearing on other places, besides the better known list of Palestine, which I hope to submit on some future occasion to the Society.

I need not say how very grateful I shall be for corrections, additional information, or any suggestions from gentlemen who know far more about this subject.

At any rate, I trust that the list as now brought forward may be found useful to travellers and students who, like myself, have to do most of their work at a distance from the great libraries and museums, and who have not the luxury at their command of "discoursing with a learned Theban" when their own learning threatens to run dry.

Remarks were added by Rev. W. Wright, D.D., Rev. W. Hayes Ward, D.D., Mr. J. Park Harrison, Mr. T. Tyler, Rev. W. T. Pilter, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, and Rev. A. Löwy.

Mr. P. le Page Renouf read a Paper entitled, "The Eclipse in Egyptian Texts."

THE ECLIPSE IN EGYPTIAN TEXTS.

It has often been asked whether Egyptian texts are absolutely silent on the subject of solar and lunar eclipses. It would seem in the highest degree improbable that a people who are known to have carefully noted the aspects of the heavens, who have left behind them records of astronomical observations, who had an astronomical calendar, and who worshipped both sun and moon among their chief deities, should have left no proof whatever of their having even noticed so striking a phenomenon as an eclipse of sun or moon.

It must be confessed that in no text which has yet been discovered is there any record of the occurrence of an eclipse. It is indeed most probable that an eclipse is meant when the famous inscription of Takeltu II speaks of the "sky swallowing the moon," but the text expressly says that the sky did not swallow the moon, an āma pet àāh; so that not the occurrence, but the non-occurrence of an eclipse is asserted. The true sense of the inscription is explained by the words immediately following those just quoted: "A fearful calamity occurred in this land." That is, the calamity occurred without any such previous

notice as an eclipse or other natural portent might have yielded to the wise men of the period.

But apart from historical texts, I believe that eclipses are alluded to under expressions which have not yet been fully understood.

The word \Longrightarrow kamen, which frequently occurs in proper names, is the ancient form of the Coptic Goosse, and like it has reference to dimmed or distorted vision. kamen maat (Leyden Pap. 1, 348, revers. xiii, 9), is δμμα διεστραμμένον. But the proper name Pakamen does not imply any distortion of vision in the person bearing the name or among his relatives. Proper names in Egyptian, as in Hebrew, are often elliptical. the Hebrew Nathan stands for Nathaniel (= Deus dedit), and the Egyptian Tātāu (which corresponds to Nathan) stands for Tātāu-Anhur, Tātāu-Sebak, and the like, so does Pakamen stand for the full Pa-Rā-kamen. It is the Sun-god himself who suffers from a dimmed or distorted eye. is a kindred name, Pa-beka-kamen, which signifies the 'servant of Kamen,' that is of the god whose vision is dimmed or distorted. Beka in Egyptian proper names is never prefixed to any but divine names. We have Beka by itself, the god's name being omitted (like the Hebrew Obed), Bek-en-Amen, Bek-en-Ptah, Bek-en-Chonsu, and also Bek-en-ren-ef, 'Servant of his name,' 'his name' being put instead of the god. All these names correspond to Abdiel, Obadiah, Abd-allah, Theodulos, and many others in other languages.

All the Egyptian names in which kamen occurs point to the existence of a myth in which the Sun-god suffers from some important defect of vision.

Now the Book of the Dead has repeated allusions to disasters occurring to the eye of the Sun-god. Some of these unquestionably have reference to the daily disappearance of the sun; but there are others in which, in spite of certain difficulties, I cannot but agree with M. Lefébure in seeing reference to eclipses.

maat Hor em atet es, 'the Eye of Horus in its failure,' Todt., 80, 4, is a case in point. The word atet, is as expressive when applied to the sun or moon as would be the Greek exherves, or the Latin defectus; and if the 'Eye of Horus' here be the moon, the feast of the fifteenth of the month, or full moon, which is mentioned in the passage of the Book of the

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DEMOTIC OSTRAKA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

Helio., C. Praetorius, London.



DEMOTIC OSTRAKA IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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Dead, is a most appropriate date, for lunar eclipses only occur at that time.*

But atet, as both M. Lefébure and I have shown, is a variant of , and in accordance with this indisputable fact there can be no doubt that the attack on the eye of Rā by a black boar, in the 112th chapter, and the disaster mentioned in the 115th, have reference to eclipses. The whole series of these chapters (112-116) is devoted to the same subject.

I also agree with M. Lefébure in interpreting the picture in the tomb of Seti I, which represents a cynocephalus driving away a boar from the solar bark, as the moon overcoming the eclipse of the sun. The cynocephalus is Thoth, who personifies the moon; and the Egyptians who, as I have shown, were aware (Todt., c. 2) that the moon derived its light from the sun, do not seem at the time when these myths came into existence to have known that the eclipse of the sun was caused by the interposition of the moon between the earth and the sun, though they saw clearly enough that the moon

* Most true; but here arises a difficulty. The full moon would not always fall on the fifteenth day of an Egyptian month in a year of 365, or even of 360 days. The length of the lunar month is only 29'53, not 30 days. There might be two full moons in one month, as in January and March of the present year. The only solution to the difficulty lies in the supposition that the religious calendar consisted of none but purely lunar months, without any regard to the length of the tropical year.

+ Compare the variant Champollion, Notices, II, 591. The word at, or at, or at, 1876, p. 105). M. Pierret has also rightly translated from sans manque à leur total," in an inscription at the Louvre. The word at, which occurs repeatedly in the Annals of Thothmes III, signifies one who fails, a deserter, a rebel.

‡ See vignette of *Todt*. 149, 12th div., where a boar is about to attack a peculiar object. In other papyri the object is the .

§ This used to be described as a demon conveying to perdition the soul of a glutton. But the words $\bar{a}m$ \bar{a} , written over the swine, signify 'eater of the arm,' which, as M. Lefébure has shown, is equivalent to 'eater of the eye.'

appeared in the sky in the close neighbourhood of the sun when the eclipse was over. They attributed to the moon, not the sun's disaster, but its deliverance.

"Thoth," says the Book of the Dead (17, 28), "brings back the Eye, living, safe, and sound, without damage, to its master."

And later texts repeat this. Thoth, it is said at Dendera, coming forth victoriously, hath restored the Eye () to its master. And in another text published by Dr. von Bergmann (pl. 52) Thoth restores the Eye of Horus to his master, and protects the Ut'at from the one who would extinguish it nehem ut at mā ar gen-es.*

The same phenomenon may be treated mythologically in very different ways. In a former paper I gave reasons for holding that the tortoise, which is represented as the deadly enemy of the Sun-god, is no other than the eclipse. "Life to Rā, death to the Tortoise," is inscribed on the four gates of the Egyptian heaven—or more literally, "Rā liveth, the Tortoise is dead." We shall meet with a formula very like this in other myths clearly representing the eclipse.

The most common mythological representation of the eclipse among the Egyptians from the earliest date is the bite or sting inflicted upon the Sun-god by a venomous reptile; and the numerous spells against serpents, scorpions, and other reptiles, always have reference to a disaster which once befel the Sun-god, and from which he was delivered by the spells of Isis.

Two documents deserve special notice as illustrative of the folklore on the subject.

The first is a legendary narrative contained in one of the Turin papyri published by Messrs. Rossi and Pleyte. The MS. is of the period of the 20th dynasty according to M. Pleyte, to whom we are indebted for a first and very successful attempt at a translation. M. Lefébure has more recently studied the text, and published an improved version in the *Zeitschrift* of 1883, p. 27, under the name of "Un chapitre de la chronique Solaire." M. Lefébure thinks that the

 last episode of the story rests upon "an allegory symbolizing the pernicious effects of the solar heat." With the help of his excellent translation we shall, I think, arrive at another conclusion.

Isis is here represented as a cunning and ambitious woman, disgusted with mankind, and aspiring to nothing short of divine power. This she hoped to obtain by possessing herself of a secret unknown to the very gods—the true name of the Sun-god. The superstition, common to other nations, of the magical virtue of divine names, was most deeply rooted in the Egyptian mind.

Rā is described as old and drivelling. Isis took the rheum which had fallen from him, kneaded it with the earth, and produced from it a reptile, which she left upon the path of the god, who was bitten by it. His sufferings were so intense that he was at first unable to explain to the gods in his train what had befallen him. "His teeth chattered, all his limbs trembled, and the venom seized upon his flesh as the Nile takes possession of its domain." But he plucked up courage, spoke to his companions, and begged them to tell him the cause of his awful pain, which had pierced through him—a pain which nothing could surpass. No one could help him, until Isis came with her spells, and upon her promising to overcome the mischief, Rā told her his distress. "All my limbs perspire," he said, "I am trembling all over, my eye is without strength, I can no longer distinguish the sky, the water rises up to my face, as in the season of summer." And Isis said to him, "O divine father! tell me thy name!" Thereupon Rā enumerated many of his attributes, ending with the words, "I am Chepera at morning, Rā at noon, and Tmu at even." But this did not satisfy Isis. The venom was not expelled, but made further progress, and the great god could no longer advance. Isis said to Rā, "This list of things you have been telling me is not your name. Tell it me, and the venom shall be expelled. 'He shall live whose name shall be revealed." The unfortunate Ra consented to be personally searched by Isis, and agreed that his name should pass from his bosom (that is his mind) into hers. He then disappeared during the process from the sight of all the gods, and his place in the solar bark of millions of years was vacant (literally wide). But when Isis had accomplished her purpose she uttered the words, "Flow, venoms, flow! come forth out of Rā. Eye of Horus come out of the god, and shine forth out of his mouth. I it is who do this, I fling upon the earth the vanquished venom, for the name of the great god hath been taken from him. Rā liveth, the venom is dead! So saith Isis.

the great one, the regent of the gods, she who knoweth Rā by his right name."

"These words," we are told, "are to be said over an image of Tmu and of Horus, the Nomenclators, over a representation of Isis and an image of Horus. When written they are to be put into a solution and swallowed by the patient. Also in a strip of fine linen put round the neck. It is a potent remedy. It may be drunk in beer or wine by the patient. It secures the permanent destruction of the venom."

Now this story is not only pantheistic (in certain portions which I have not thought it necessary to quote) but euhemeristic, and has no claim to be considered primitive, any more than the legend of the Destruction of Men. Like that tale and some of our mediæval legends, it is written, as M. Lefébure well says, "avec une irrévérence qui les date." The importance of it is the clue which it gives to the mythological sense of the Sun-god being bitten or stung by a reptile, and to the connection of this mythical event with spells which are of immemorial antiquity in Egypt. The magical papyri of Leyden and Turin abound in specimens of spells against the bite of venomous reptiles, and they always call to mind how Horus was once bitten.

This event is described in one of the legends* preserved on the Metternich tablet, which is itself an immense talisman of the same nature as those described by M. Chabas in his article on "Horus upon the Crocodiles." The exclamation, "The child liveth, the venom is dead!" is put into the mouth of the goddess Isis. The wife of a magistrate had refused to admit Isis under her roof for fear of the seven scorpions who accompanied the goddess. Thereupon the seven scorpions delegated their power to one of their number, who stole under the door and stung the lady's child. The goddess, however, was overcome by the grief of the unfortunate mother, to whom she restored the innocent child by the magic power of incantations taught her by her father Seb. And she herself tells the story how in the course of her flight from her brother Sut, shortly after the birth of her child Horus, she left the latter alone for a while, wrapped up and hidden; how he was stung by a reptile, and how the cry of her despair went up to heaven. "I returned," she says, "to embrace Horus. I found him, the beautiful, the golden one, the babe, the

^{*} See Brugsch, "Eine geographische Studie," Zeitschr., 1879, p. 1 and following.

suckling, and he was nought (and a tet-ef); he had bedewed the ground with the water of his eye and the foam of his lips, his body was stiff, his heart stood still, not a muscle of his limbs moved." The neighbours expressed their sorrow, but were unable to help her. Nephthys and Selket could only recommend her to pray to heaven. "There was a halt of the rowers of Rā, the ship of Rā moved not from its place because of the child Horus." Finally Thoth made his appearance furnished with magic might, and promised that no harm should befall the child, whose safety is identified with that of the bark of Rā. "Though darkness may be, Light (sešep) will be triumphant for the health of Horus, for his mother Isis, and for every person who is wounded in the same way."

The intervention of Thoth (that is of the Moon) as a deliverer, is significant in this as in the other texts. "When the eye of Rā is suffering, when his second eye weeps," says a gloss in the Book of the Dead (17, 28), "then Thoth heals it."

The spells of which we have so many specimens both in papyri and on stone used to be thought comparatively modern. But they were proved by the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, published by Lepsius in the Aelteste Texte, to belong to a very early period. And they have been found in the texts of the pyramids of Unas and his successors. Even at this early date much of their meaning must already have been lost.

The essential points to which I wish to call attention at present are these:—

- 1. The central mythological thought in these compositions is that of a venomous reptile biting or stinging the Sun-god.

When we have once fallen upon the right track the true sense of these texts is at once forced upon us.*

* A papyrus of the Louvre contains, for instance, the following spell, thus translated by M. Chabas (*Papyrus Magique*, p. 177): "Soutekh, aspic, reptile méchant, dont le venin est brulant, qui viens pour t'emparer de la lumière du dieu dont le nom est caché et qui demeure dans Thèbes, cède, reste à ta place!"

3. The most ancient of these spells is on the sarcophagus of Mentuhotep, entitled "Chapter of repelling Rerek." Now Rerek is a personage known to us from the Book of the Dead. We have therefore a clue to the meaning of those passages in which the serpent is mentioned, and also of other texts of a similar character.

A Paper was read by Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, "On a Series of Specimens of the Familiar Correspondence of the Babylonians and Assyrians."

This paper was a kind of supplement to that published by the author in the sixth volume of the Transactions, in which he had made some notes upon the contents, and given translations of one unpublished and three published texts. As he had there pointed out, these tablets gave many valuable facts connected with the manners, customs, and language of the more intelligent of the inhabitants of Assyria and Babylonia in ancient times, and were, in his opinion, valuable in estimating the national character of the writers. texts mentioned and translated were of very great interest. One was from a man named Marduk to his brother about private affairs; another from Nabû-šum-iddin to the aba-mâti with a message of peace to him and the people in Nineveh; another, from Tabrû, was addressed to an officer also bearing the title of aba-mâti—a letter as full of kindly feeling and friendship as could possibly be imagined. Not among the least interesting were some curious answers to a king of Assyria as to certain people afflicted with some sicknesses or diseases. In addition to these private and familiar letters, the author gave translations of some which were of a more public nature—the complaint of the Nifferites of scarcity of water, with other documents of a similar nature. The paper, when printed, will be provided with the original text of all the documents translated, and philological notes, which will be found of great interest and value.

Remarks were added by Rev. W. Hayes Ward, D.D.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce, "On the Site of This":—

The site of This, the capital of the Thinite nome, and the city of Menes, the founder of the united Egyptian monarchy, has long been a subject of dispute. That it was in the neighbourhood of Abydos was known, but among the many possible sites in this neighbourhood, there was none with which it could be positively identified. At one time the Kômes-Sultân at Abydos was supposed to represent it; but M. Mariette's excavations there showed that this was impossible. At another time it was located at a village called El Birbeh, "the temple;" no important remains, however, have been found here, and experience has taught me that the name of "Birbeh" is applied not only to temples of the Pharaonic times, but also to Arab structures of modern date. Finally, Mariette suggested that This must be sought at Girgeh. There was much to be said in favour of this suggestion. Girgeh still continues to be the capital of the district in which it stands; it is situated on the bank of the river, and is built on the top of large mounds of Roman débris, which were even larger than at present in the time of Pococke, when the Nile, which has now eaten away a considerable portion of them, flowed at a distance of a quarter of a mile from the city.

Three difficulties, however, stood in the way of Mariette's suggestion. The older name of Girgeh was unknown; the earlier history of the modern town was also unknown; and above all, the mounds on which it stands, large as they are, contain nothing but the remains of the Roman period. Roman columns of granite and porphyry are found in them, but nothing which carries us back to a more ancient period. Before Mariette's suggestion could be accepted, it was necessary to produce tangible proof that the Roman city was itself the successor of the primæval This.

This I believe I can now do, thanks to a discovery which I made last winter. Before, however, giving an account of this, it is as well to mention that like so many other Egyptian cities This, or Thinis, had two names in the Pharaonic period, one secular and the other religious. The secular name was Tni , whence the classical Thinis and This; the religious name was Anhir-t

or , that is to say the city of the god Anhir, whom

the Greeks identified with Ares. In Coptic hagiology his place is taken by S. George, since Anhir, "he who guides the firmanent," was the deity who contended against the serpent and other enemies of the solar bark, just as in Christian times S. George was supposed to contend against the dragon.

On leaving Abydos in the winter of 1883-4, I paid a visit to the remains of a newly-discovered temple in a village called Meshayek on the eastern bank of the Nile, to the south-west of Girgeh, which it will be remembered stands on the western bank. Meshavek and Girgeh is about half a mile of cultivated land, and then the channel of the river, and immediately behind Meshayek are the cliffs of Gebel Abû-Fêda. The district in which the village is situated is known as Uladaiweh. The village has been built for the most part over the ruins of a temple which contains the inscriptions of Amenôphis III and Ramses II. A beautifully-worked statue of Sekhet which was unearthed among them is now in the Bûlak Museum. In the cliff behind the village are numerous tombs of the Græco-Roman period, and one large tomb of earlier date. It is in a line with the temple, and is divided into two chambers the first of which has a double row of columns. Both chambers are profusely covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics, and traces of colouring are still visible on the roof and elsewhere. Seated figures of the owners of the tomb are carved out of the rock on either side of the first chamber, and the same group is sculptured between the Egyptian Trinity at the end of the second chamber, facing the entrance. On the right hand side of the second chamber is the representation of two heraldic lions placed back to back and supporting the setting sun between them,—an interesting illustration of the Asiatic influence exercised upon Egypt through the wars of the XVIIIth dynasty.

I had no time to copy the inscriptions of the tomb; that indeed would be the work of at least two days; and I could only note that the tomb belonged to the reign of Meneptah I, and was placed under the protection of "the gods of Tni." Tni or This, therefore, could not be far off. Now, standing at the entrance of the tomb we can see only one large mound at all near to it; and this is the mound on which Girgeh stands. Accordingly, in a letter to the "Academy" of

February 2nd, 1884, I concluded that Girgeh must be This, and supported my view by the fact that with the exception of this single tomb all the other tombs in the cliffs of Meshayek are Græco-Roman. The rich subjects of the Pharaohs wished to be buried beside the sacred tomb of Osiris at Abydos; it was only the foreigners of the Græco-Roman epoch who would naturally be buried elsewhere. The poorer inhabitants of This, of course, who could not afford the expenses of a burial at Abydos, would be interred in the nearest strip of desert land; and it is therefore noticeable that the débris at the foot of the cliffs northward from Meshayek is completely honeycombed with the graves of the poor. There was consequently strong presumptive evidence that Mariette's conjecture was correct, and that Girgeh occupies the site of This.

The discovery I made this winter seems to me to go far towards settling the question. My companion, Mr. W. Myers, and myself. being detained at Girgeh in our dahabiah by contrary winds, determined to pay another visit to Meshayek, and accordingly started for some tombs we saw in the cliffs opposite, under the impression that they were the tombs we were looking for. We soon found, however, that we had made a mistake, and that they were nearly three miles to the north of Meshayek, and behind another village named Negadiyeh. Negadiyeh exactly faces Girgeh, and is at the northern corner of the cultivated land which I have described as extending between Meshayek and the Nile. As soon as Negadiyeh is passed in a northward direction, there is nothing between Girgeh and the mountain-cliffs except the channel of the river, so that the cliffs here would be the first and most natural burial-place of Girgeh. As Nile travellers know, the Egyptians preferred to bury their dead on the eastern side of the river, as indeed their descendants still do. is on this side that the cliffs and desert usually approach nearest to the river's bank, and the existence of a city on the western bank is often marked by the presence of tombs in the cliffs opposite. These cliffs, in fact, were the primitive cemetery of the richer citizens. was only when the harder strata of the adjoining cliffs had been thoroughly excavated that another burial place was sought in a more distant part of the cliffs or elsewhere.

While I was examining the Greek tombs of Negadiyeh, which though large and well-cut, contain no inscriptions, a native of the village offered to guide us to other tombs a little way off, in which he assured us we should find "writing." Accordingly we crossed the mouth of a small ravine, and climbed up its somewhat precipitous northern shoulder, between which and Girgeh, as I have already said, nothing intervenes except the channel of the Nile. After passing some more Greek tombs, we eventually found ourselves close under the summit of the cliff, where the rock had been excavated into a line of four tombs. One of these was on the eastern side of the shoulder of the cliff looking into the ravine; the rest faced the river and the west. They had all, however, been disgracefully destroyed by recent quarrying, only the back walls of their inner chambers remaining; and this, added to the height at which they were excavated, made it impossible to see them from below.

What was left consisted of those small, delicately-sculptured and lightly-coloured bas-reliefs, representing the scenes of ordinary life, with which the tombs of Gizeh and Sakkârah have made us familiar. The style of art, however, was slightly more archarc than that of the tombs of Gizeh, and must therefore be referred to an earlier period than the IVth Dynasty. In the last tomb to the north (which I will call No. IV) was a representation of bread-making. The bread was being kneaded with the hands, not with the feet, as Hêrodotos (II, 36) absurdly says was the custom in Egypt.*

One of the four tombs has been entirely destroyed by the quarrymen. Tomb I, that namely on the eastern side of the shoulder of the cliff, looking into the ravine, has been so utterly ruined that the only line of hieroglyphics I could make out was the following:—



We gather from this that the owner of the tomb was attached to the Pharaoh's house, and was prophet of tes-t, or "Mars."

* Critics of my "Hêrodotos," who know more Greek than Egyptology, have accused me of injustice towards the "Father of History." So far is this from being the case, that wherever there seemed to be a shadow of evidence on his side I have given him the benefit of the doubt. In spite of evidence to the contrary, I have allowed his statement that the Egyptians kneaded bread with their feet to pass unchallenged, on the strength of the picture in the tomb of Ramses III (rëproduced in Wilkinson's "Ancient Egyptians," ed. Birch II, pl. 301), in which Wilkinson sees an illustration of the process. But a close examination of the picture has now convinced me that whatever may be the material which is oozing through the basket represented in it, it is not dough. In fact, when we remember the barefooted habits of the Egyptians and the dusty soil of the country they inhabit, it is almost incredible that they should ever have prepared bread with their feet.

No inscriptions remain in the second tomb, which seems to have been injured, if not destroyed, as far back as the Greek period. At all events, I found the two following Greek graffiti scratched on the ruined outer wall of the tomb:—

κγγγιομιον Τ' ΟΨΗλία

'Ομελιά Καλλιοπίου

"Homêlia, daughter of Kalliopios," a name which occurs among the Greek graffiti in the tombs of the kings at Thebes.

ΠΡΕ *ΠΟΙ ΨΝ ΤΟΠΥΟΎ ΥΝΗΜΑ ΠΤΟ ΛΕΜΑΙΟ C

['O] ποιῶν τὸ προσκύνημα Πτολεμαῖος

"He who performs the act of worship is Ptolemy."

We may infer from the second of these *graffiti* that a shrine had existed in this old ruined tomb in the Greek period, and that the Greek visitors to Abydos sometimes found their way thither.

The third tomb is altogether gone, but the fourth tomb is in a better state of preservation, as may be concluded from the fact that the coloured bas-reliefs on what was once its back wall are still visible. The back wall, however, is all that is left of it, and on it I copied the following important text:—



The first line contains only an account of the usual offerings to Anubis, but in the second line the defunct is described as "prophet of the sacred lake of Anhir-t, and overseer of every kind of public work," and it is further stated that a stêlê (utu) had been erected

"in This," of which Anhirt-t, as has already been mentioned, was the sacred name.

Now when we consider the position of the tomb, and the fact that no ancient mounds are in any way near it, except those of Girgeh, it seems impossible not to conclude that This or Anhirt and Girgeh are one and the same. And this conclusion is verified by the modern name of the town. Girgeh takes its name from St. Girgis or George, and St. George was the Coptic representative and successor of the god Anhir.

The tombs I have discovered must belong to the period before the rise of Abydos, and the time when the pious and wealthy Egyptian wished his body to rest there by the side of that of Osiris. Abydos was originally a dependency of This, as the Greek Olympia was of Pisa; and just as Olympia came eventually to supplant Pisa, so the sanctity of Abydos came to eclipse the merely secular fame of This. This, however, unlike Pisa, continued to exist as an important city. The débris of the Roman epoch shows the place it occupied under the Roman rule; and it is now clear that the Roman débris itself stands upon still older mounds-part of which must be buried under the encroaching channel of the Nile-which go back, not only to the Pharaonic age, but to the era of Menes himself. How deeply these may lie below the present surface of the ground has been indicated to me by my experience this winter. About a mile above Golósaneh, we passed a place where the Nile has eaten away the western bank, and laid bare the ruins of an ancient town, including the exterior wall of a temple, the highest part of which is now 15 feet below the surface of the ground. Near Sharóna, on the eastern side of the river, are some remains called Kôm el Ahmar or the "Red Mound," which consist entirely of late Roman débris, but as a tomb of the VIth Dynasty, containing the name of Pepi, was shown me in the sand-hills behind it, it is evident that the "Red Mound" itself must cover the relics of a far older city.* In a village near Maghága, again, Dr. Lansing came across a block of limestone inscribed with the name of Ramses II, which had been brought from the neighbouring village of Etnêh, where he was told many similar blocks lay buried at a great depth under the earth. It is therefore probable that we must dig at least

^{*} I have given an account of the discovery of this tomb in the "Academy" of 21st February, 1885, p. 134.

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fifteen feet below the present level of the soil before we find the Egyptian This.

Our guide informed us that another tomb with hieroglyphic inscriptions existed further up the ravine, at a distance of an hour and a half from the others. The distance was probably less than an hour in reality; but unfortunately we had no time to test the statement, though the tomb is no doubt in a better state of preservation than those which I have been describing, in consequence of its greater distance from Girgeh.

Mr. Myers picked up a number of worked flints, similar to those found at Thebes, on our way down from the tombs. We then turned to the south, and I examined the Greek tombs in the cliff behind Negadiyeh. There was not a vestige of an inscription to be seen in them. One of them, however, had been transformed into a Coptic shrine during the Christian period, and Coptic pilgrims had left graffiti on the rock at its entrance. These I copied, so far as was possible; but the letters were small and lightly engraved, while the glare of the sun was unusually dazzling. No doubt, on a darker day more characters might be made out.

Here are the texts:-

- 1. ABPAZAM Abraham is a common name in Coptic graffiti.
- ΠλΠλ
 Π巡POΥ

Perhaps "Papa Petrou."

3. IWANNHC AIAKAIN The second word seems intended for διάκονος.

In a graffito I copied at Dêr Abu-Hannes
I found the word ΔΙλΚώκλΝ.

4. AMARIAN ANTICON
ANTICON
ANTICON
ANTICON
ANTICON

It is unfortunate that the name of the saint to whom the shrine was dedicated is uncertain. The first word may have been $\lambda \Pi \lambda$. The latter part of the text ends with the usual formula: "pray for me the brother of Khane. Amen."

After leaving the Greek tombs, I made my way in a southward direction, and at the foot of the cliffs, to a tomb cut in the rock behind the modern cemetery of Negadiyeh. It proved to be the most southerly of the Negadiyeh sepulchres, and furnished, what is exceedingly rare in Egypt, a Latin inscription. The interior of the tomb had been taken possession of some thirty years ago by an Englishman or American, who has painted his name in one corner of it. On the rock outside, to the left of the entrance, several Arabic graffiti have been scratched; one of them is written over a name in Kypriote characters, of which only the two last $\mathbf{X} \stackrel{\mathbf{\mu}}{} \mathbf{i}$ -s are now visible. The Latin inscription is engraved on the right hand side of the entrance, and we learn from it that the tomb was made for the third Cyrenaic legion which occupied Upper Egypt from the time of Augustus to that of Vespasian. The inscription is as follows:—

CVMIRIVS FVSCVS MILES

/ IVLII IVLI

The last line seems to mean $v(ixit \ annos)$ XL. The letters are very faintly engraved, and I failed to decipher those at the beginning of the last line. The misspelling Cyrenaecx for Cyrenaecx will be noticed.

It may be gathered from the inscription that Cumirius Fuscus died at This, and it is therefore probable that the third legion was stationed at the time in that city. The remains of the Roman age to which I have before alluded shows that the city was still an important one, and it would not be wonderful therefore if a Roman garrison had been established in it.

A H. SAYCE.

The following Communication has been received:-

THE FIRS, BEACONSFIELD,

May 9th, 1885.

DEAR SIR,

I venture to call your attention to a passage which appears to have a bearing, and it may be an important one, on the relations between Biblical and Egyptian history. In 2 Kings vi, vii, the Syrians are represented as supposing that the king of Israel had hired "the kings of the Hittites and the kings of the Egyptians"

against them. Now as far as I remember this is the only historical passage in Scripture where Egypt is spoken of as under more than one sovereign. We read in numerous passages prior to this of "Pharaoh, king of Egypt," and later on of "So, king of Egypt," "Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt," &c.—here only of "kings." Does the historic evidence tend to show that at this date—the epoch, I presume, of the twenty-third dynasty—there was a plurality of princes in that country, such as the "Dodecarchy" of later times, or such as Isaiah predicts in xix 2?

I have consulted Brugsch and Lenormant, who both seem to confirm this idea; but neither of them refers to this passage, and I therefore thought I would venture to call your attention to it.

It would be interesting to ascertain whether the empire of the Kheta was in a similar state of division at the same date. (We read of "the kings of the Hittites" in I Kings x. 29; I Chron. i. 17.)

I am, dear Sir, yours very truly,
W. H. SUMMERS,
(Congregational Minister).

The following communication has been received from Dr. Wiedemann:—

Two Dated Monuments of the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum at the Haag.

Among the monuments preserved in the small but good collection in the Museum Westreenianum at the Haag, two monuments appear to be particularly interesting. Their inscriptions are dated,

and this fact would be sufficient to justify the publication, if even the other informations given by the texts were not so useful as they are.

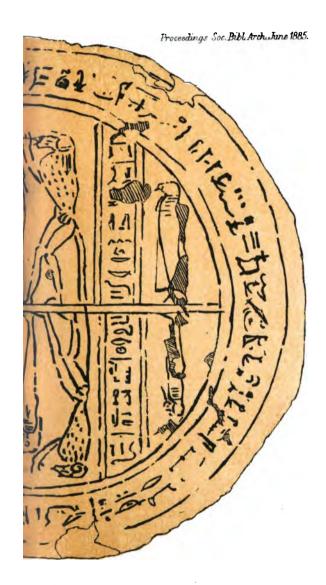
"Royal offering to Ap-matenu, Osiris in the land of the inhabitants of the Amenti, (2) the lord of Abydos, that he may give offerings in bread, liquid, oxen, geese, linen, incense, (3) wax, all good and pure things of which a god lives, (4) to the person of the crown-bearer Hor-em-saf."

Then come the names of the different members of Hor-em-saf's family. First in three vertical lines, each followed by the picture of the quoted person. The names are:—

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Hypocephalus in the Colle



tion of Walter Myers Esq. F.S.A.

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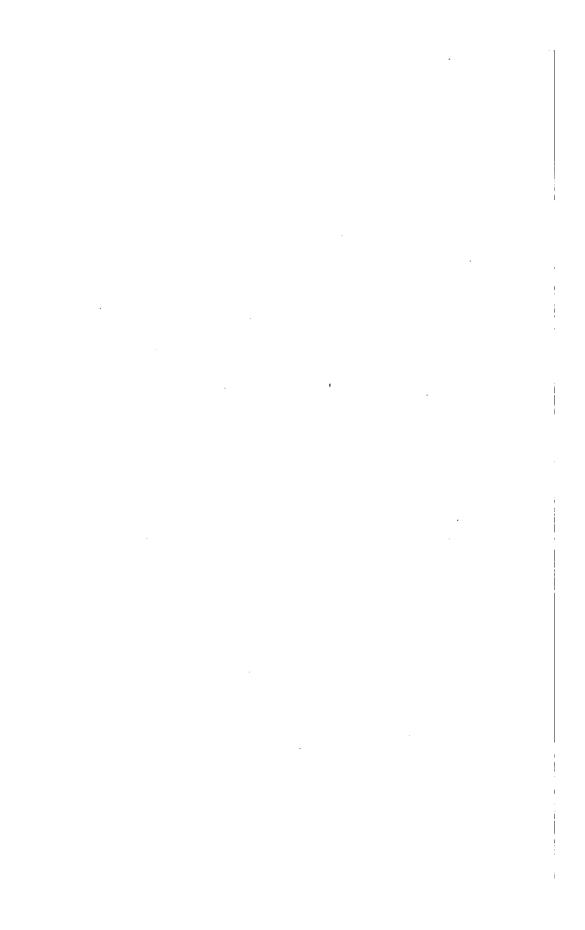
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HE ROMAN PERIOD.

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^{3. 11. 2.502.)}



"Hor-em-saf, the justified."

Below follows a horizontal line:-



"Royal offering to Osiris for the person of the scribe Kettu, with surname Snefru-ur-em-nen-t." Then in two vertical columns, arranged as the first genealogical list, we find the names of:—

behind the name) Ames, the justified."

The chief interest of this inscription consists in its date, and in the rather long list of members of the same family. The date of the 27th year of Amenemha III is found only on this monument (cf. Wiedemann, "Handbuch der Aegyptischen Geschichte," p. 254), a fact worth noting. The family list gives us new material for the solution of a very interesting but difficult question in the social conditions in ancient Egypt.

From reading the Greek authors upon Egypt we form the impression that all the people were divided into certain castes, of which the different names are quoted. Thus was formed the generally accepted opinion at the beginning of our century, that in Egypt the son was forced by law to follow the trade of his father, and could not choose his career. So the son of a priest became a priest,

the son of a soldier a soldier, and so on. The hieroglyphic monuments have shown that this opinion could not be correct. appears from the inscriptions that sons were able to have other occupations different from that of their father, and that the position of a priest or a scribe was not closed to the lower people. extreme was likewise taken as a settled fact, and it was stated that in Egypt castes had never existed, and that the assertions of the Greek authors were false. But, on the other side, the words of these writers are quite clear; in matters of this kind a mistake is not easily committed, and as Herodotus is perfectly trustworthy in all questions connected with the public institutions of his time, which he saw himself, and of which he must have heard, being at the Nile, it appears to me not very probable that he should have told a mere fable. Besides, we possess Egyptian texts which appear to affirm his statement. There have been found genealogical lists, from which it is evident that in some families the position of architect or of priest was hereditary, and that the son obtained always his father's place. Under these circumstances it would be very surprising if there were not some truth in the old writer's notices on the castes of Egypt. Probably these castes existed to a certain degree, so that it was the custom for a son to follow the profession of his father, but that it was possible for him to leave it and enter upon another career. supposition appears to explain the difference between the statements of the Greek authors and the monuments; but as yet it is only a hypothesis, impossible to be proved without bringing a large number of genealogies of one and the same period, in which we might observe how the different members of the same family were employed. There lies the importance of publishing long series of such inscriptions, especially the dated ones, because customs may have changed during the long period of Egyptian history. The text of the Museum Westreenianum will not be without value in answering these questions.

As far as I can discover, the Hor-em-saf in honour of whom the stela was erected does not appear in other texts, though his name is a very frequent one just at the time of the XIIth dynasty; also the different members of his family were unknown till now. As many texts of the same period are found in Egypt, it is to be hoped that their names may be found one day again, the more so as the beautiful execution of our stela shows that Hor-em-saf and his relations belonged to a distinguished Egyptian family.

As a kind of appendix to this text I will publish here a curious monument of the same period. It is a golden ring in the Museum of the Louvre (Salle historique, No. 457), with a sardonyx as the ring-stone. On one side we find the picture of a king killing a prisoner, and his name ; on the other side a man is sitting before an altar, and is named ; on the other side "Harobes." The engraving of the stone is, as Pierret ("Description de la Salle historique," p. 110) correctly says, one of the best found in Egypt.

The second monument in the Museum Westreenianum to which I will call attention is an Uschebti of hard stone representing a king with the uræus on his forehead. On the body we find engraved in beautiful characters the following inscription, the end of which is unhappily destroyed with the lower part of the statue:—



"..... Oh this Uschebti! Called is the king Ra-maā-ka in her faculties. It is driven away the impurity there from the king in his faculty. She is here; she calls thee. You shall work there at all times: [irrigate] the fields, make grow [the semences]," e.c. From this inscription it is clear that we have here an Uschebti of the queen Ramaka of the XVIIIth dynasty, the only monument of this kind known at the present time. The tomb of the queen from which the Uschebti must have been taken is unknown. From the pit of

Dêr-el-bahari, which contained the mummies of the other members of her family, her body was missing, and only her liver was found, well preserved in a fine wooden box (Wiedemann, "Handbuch," p. 338), so it appears as if her tomb had been already opened in ancient times, and its contents dispersed.

The text of the Uschebti is interesting for several reasons. The suffixes for Ramaka, masculine and feminine, are changed, as is the case in the other texts relating to the queen. The motive was that Ramaka, notwithstanding her being a woman, was treated quite as a king, and represented as a male bearded figure. This peculiarity of the grammatical forms in the text, as well as the form of the Uschebti, and of the hieroglyphs, show that the represented queen was the Ramaka-Hātasu of the XVIIIth dynasty, and not the Ramaka of the XXIst, the later being treated always as a woman. It is curious to notice that the Uschebti-formula is written nearly in the form which Loret ("Rec. de Trav. rel. e.x.," IV, p. 92) calls the third redaction; and this shows how right he was in saying in the supplement to his interesting study about the Uschebtis (l.c., V, p. 73), that the periods of the use of one or the other redaction were not well limited. During the time of the XVIIIth dynasty we find not only, as he pointed out, the first and the second redaction used side by side, but our Uschebti shows us that also the third form was then known and inscribed on the Uschebtis of the kings.

Of all the Uschebtis belonging to the kings, the one under notice is the oldest known, the next king's name found on Uschebtis being so late as Amenophis III. It is true that some Uschebtis of the pit of Dêr-el-bahari appear to belong to the king Ra-se-kenen II, of the XVIIth dynasty (cf. Wiedemann, "Handbuch, p. 301), but they were certainly not made at his period, and are of a much later time, probably of the time of the XXIst dynasty, in which the body of the king was transported to his new tomb. Under these circumstances the Uschebti of Ramaka merits not to be forgotten in the series of dated Egyptian monuments, being besides interesting in the study of the development of the peculiar formula of the sixth chapter of the Todtenbuch, which is (cf. Wiedemann, "Die Aegypt. Monumente zu Bonn und Koeln in Jahrb, des Vereins von Alterth. im Rheinlande, LXXVIII (1884), pp. 103-109) one of the most instructive texts containing the ideas of the old Egyptian people about the life in the other world.

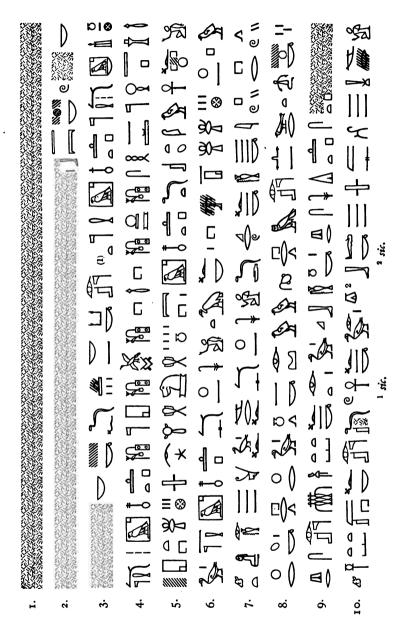
The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

HIEROGLYPHIG INSCRIPTION AT HOW, CONTAINING THE NAME OF A NEW KING.

How, the ancient Disopolis Parva, stands on the western bank of the Nile, a little to the north of Kasr es-Svád, the Khênoboskion of the classical geographers, and to the south of Farshût and Abydos. The ruined temple described by Wilkinson as existing there has now almost disappeared, as has also the tomb with Greek paintings which he discovered in the neighbourhood. The tomb was in the desert, about a quarter of a mile beyond the mounds of the old city, and not far from the remains of a Coptic town, now known to the Arabs as El Medineh, "the city." The remains stand on a low ridge, in which a good many tombs of the Roman period have been excavated. At some distance off, in the desert which lies behind, are the domed sepulchres of Mohammedan Sheikhs of the middle ages, not unlike the famous tombs of the Khalifs at Cairo in both architecture and size. In one of these, my companion, Mr. W. Myers, and myself found the lower half of an interesting stelê. It is now used as a pavement slab at the foot of some steps which descend into the inner shrine of the tomb. As I had to copy the inscription on it in a bad light, surrounded by a throng of talkative natives, and with only my hands to clean the dirt with which it was encrusted, there are a few characters which I am obliged to leave uncertain. The forms of the hieroglyphs employed in it show that it belongs to the Roman period; but in spite of its late date the text is of interest since it makes mention of a king otherwise unknown to history, but whose cult must nevertheless have lasted for more than 2,000 years. The composition of his name Hathor-nofer-hotep makes it pretty clear that he belonged to the XIIIth dynasty, and he may be regarded as one of the monarchs whose names are lost in the list of that dynasty given in the Turin Papyrus.

"The Osirified one" commemorated by the stelê was not only himself a prophet of Hathor-nofer-hotep, but was also the son of a prophet of Hathor-nofer-hotep, from which we may infer that the office was hereditary in his family. He was, moreover, "Scribe of the Pharaoh's house, scribe of the inundation, scribe of the affairs of the great god Thoth," living in "the temple of Hu (or How) as one





of the priests of the feast of the new moon, and presiding over the order of priests of the sacred lake of Hu, the fourth order of priests." His mother seems also to have resided among the priestesses of the temple of Hu.

The city of On mentioned in line 3 is of course On of the south or Hermonthis. In addition to this On and the still more famous On of the north or Heliopolis, I discovered this winter that there was a third On, in central Egypt. In the inscriptions I copied in the ruined tomb of "the royal scribe," Nofer-sekheru, above the mounds of the Kôm el Ahmar near Zowyeh (and opposite Minieh) I found that the city now represented by the "Red Mound" was formerly called "Annu" or "On of the nome of Anubis."

NOTE.—In the accompanying copy of the inscription, the printer has reversed the direction of the characters; the broken portion of the stêlê is really on the right side and not the left side of the stone, and the hieroglyphs face the right and not the left.

The following Communication has been received from Professor J. Lieblein:—

THE TITLE OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

The Book of the Dead is called in Egyptian A Row Co, per em hru. This title has been translated and understood in many different ways by scholars. Champollion translated it, "Livre des manifestations à la lumière;" Birch, "The book of the coming forth from the day;" E. de Rougé, "Livre de la manifestation au jour;" Lepsius, "Die Auferstehung am Tag der Tage;" Devéria, "La sortie du jour, c'est-à-dire l'entrée dans l'enfer," remarking however that "jour signifie durée du jour, et non lumière du jour."* Lefébure has written a treatise on the title of the Book of the Dead in Chabas's "Mélanges égyptologiques," III s. II t., 218—241, in which he tries to show that per em hru signifies, "Sortie pendant le jour, sortie quotidienne, hors du monde souterrain," meaning that the title indicates that the blessed were to be at liberty to return to the earth during the day; and he refers to the numerous passages

^{*} Chabas, 'Mélanges égyptologiques,' III s. II t., 231.

in the Book of the Dead which speak of such a return to the earth. But this was only one of the theories about the life of the blessed, and also one of the latest, so that it is very improbable that the Naville translates* the title: book derived its name from it. "Sortir du jour, sortir de son jour," and adds for further explanation, "C'est simplement être délivré de cette durée fatale et déterminée qu'a toute vie terrestre, ne plus avoir de commencement et de fin, avoir une existence sans limites définies dans le temps, et aussi But undoubtedly it is an anachronism to attach dans l'espace." so much to a title originally so simple and plain. At an earlier date (in Zeitschrift f. ägypt Sprache, etc., for 1872) Brugsch has translated the title in question, "Ausgang bey Tage;" but in his latest work, "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter," p. 217, he translates it, "Heraustreten aus dem Tage, d. h. Verlassen des Tageslichtes im irdischen Dasein," without further explaining his altered opinion.

My reading is most in agreement with the one Messrs. Birch and Brugsch have declared themselves for, at any rate so far as I can judge of it from their translation.

I translate the title *per em hru*, "coming forth from the day." The signification I attach to this I shall explain later on, and will first analyse each word separately.

per, no doubt originally signified "come forth, appear," for we have:—

- (a) of a god, or image of a god, coming forth in a procession from the Holy of Holies in the temple, out among the people; and of the king, who comes forth from the interior of the palace and appears before the people: apparaître;
- (b) of the first shoots of grass and corn which come forth out of the earth, pousser, germer.
- 2. per, having flower stalks as a determinative, is used of that which is in the act of coming forth, or has come forth, as plants, herbs; plante, or ; or, with corn as determinative, corn, fruit; blé, fruit.
- * 'Abhandlungen u. Vort. des fünften internat. Orientalisten Congresses,' r Hälfte, Afrik. Section 9.

- 3. per, having as a determinative a person with the finger to the mouth, indicates to come forth from the mouth, or to allow to come forth; or else that which has come forth from the mouth, and consequently signifies, when used as a verb, to speak, prononcer des paroles, and as a noun speech, discourse, discours.
- 4. per, with the arm as a determinative, come forth with the arm; to be ready, prepared with the arm, i.e., courageous, valiant, brave.
- 5. per, with the heart as a determinative, come forth with the heart, i.e., to be passionate, emporté, violent.
- 6. per, with the sun as a determinative, indicates the time when the grass and the corn shoots, comes forth, i.e., winter, liker, the spring time in Egypt, corresponding to the European winter.*

In Coptic the word per occurs in several similar significations, which may all be traced back to the original signification, come forth, as:—

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πρρε, oriri, nasci;
πειρε, ortus est;
πιρε, germinatio;
πειρε εδολ, effulgere.
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It will thus be seen that there is good reason for attaching to the Egyptian word the original signification come forth, appear.

Perhaps it is the same root that we find in the Semitic and Indo-European languages.

* I will not omit to draw attention to the figurative or ideographic determinatives, which materially modify the primary signification that lies in the root per, for it is possible that these determinatives, so common in Egyptian writing, could contribute to the solution of the question on the root-augmentation and the root-determinatives (Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzeldeterminative), which are so frequently spoken of by etymologists and comparative philologists. (Vide p. ex. Fred. Delitzsch, "Studien über indogerm.-semit. Wurzelverwandtschaft," 33, 70, ff.) At any rate, it must be hoped that Dr. Abel will be thought right, when, in his recently published book ("Einleitung in ein ägyptisch-semitisch-indo-europäisches Wurzelwörterbuch," pp. 9 and 24), he vindicates the very great importance of the Egyptian language in the science of comparing languages, as it is considerably older than any other language we know, both as regards time and form.

In Hebrew (1) durch-hervorbrechen, von der Leibesfrucht, daher gebären; (2) v. Pflanzen: Frucht bringen, Frucht tragen; , hervorsprossen,—keimen, v. Zweigen, Blättern, Blumen. Frucht, entw. der Erde, des Ackers od. des Baumes. רב, Getreide, Korn. (Fürst, Hebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch.)

In the Indo-European we have Sanscrit par, pi-par-ti, hindurchbringen, Greek πείρω, ε-παρ-ον, πέ-παρ-μαι, durchdringen, durchwandern, durchfahren, πόρ-os, Furth, Fahrt; Goth. far-an, fahren. Latin par-eo, appear, par-io, pe-per-i zum Vorschein bringen, gebären. (Fick, Wörterbuch.) φέρ-ω and fer-o are more remote, but their origin may perhaps be traced to the same primary root per.

m, is a preposition of numerous significations, of which from s one of the most frequent, and perhaps the oldest.*

A per em, consequently signifies come forth from. following are some examples:-

Un an-f her per em ta abt, "Il (le taureau) sortit de la maison pure."1

Tu repousses "le crocodile qui sort de l'abîme."§

O seigneur unique per em nun, "sorti de l'abîme celeste.||

Salut à vous, cinq dieux grands à peri em sesennu, "qui êtes sortis d'Hermopolis."¶

O Osiris N! Le voici pour toi le parfum 🚍 🖍 🖁 🕰 🗞 "venu du pays de Punt," pour perfectionner ton odeur.... voici pour toi les fluides 🚃 🖍 🦍 🖰 🤚, "émanés de Ra."**

Tu as reçu ce qui appartient aux dieux: le liquide per em rā, "émané de Ra," le fluide mystérieux per em šu, "émané de Schu,"

^{*} Le Page Renouf, Egyptian Grammar, 21, and in Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch., Vol. VI, p. 498.

[†] Papyrus d'Orbiney, XVII, 5. 1 Ibid., XVI, 2.

[§] Papyrus magique Harris, II, 6. || *Ibid.*, III, 3. ¶ 1bid., III, 5.

le sueur per em seb, émané de Seb," les membres divins per em Osiris, "émanés d'Osiris."*

Per em ro IX, "Sorti des neuf portes," tu n'es pas repoussé de ces neuf portes.†

Ses deux baris divines voguent sur le ciel em nifu per em ro-f, "par le souffle sorti de sa bouche." §

die ich herausgegangen bin aus der Behausung," in die mich mein Bruder Set hineingesetzt hat. ††

Bak aa per em suht-f, "A great hawk coming forth from its egg." 11

Ramses II, le fils de Ra

L'appel de ton cœur s'effectue aussitôt, semblablement à ce qui per em ro en nuter, " sort de la bouche de Dieu."

- * Papyrus du Musée de Boulag, T. I, pl. 6, 21.
- † Ibid., pl. 9, 16.
- ‡ Papyrus de Berlin, No. II, 1. 34; cf. Le Page Renouf, Egyptian Grammar, 55.
- § Ibid., No. VII, 1. 31; cf. Leps. Denkm., III, 237, c. 2.
- || Ibid., No. VII, 1. 38.
- ¶ Papyrus de Turin, pl. CXXXII, 8.
- ** Ibid., CXXXII, 5.
- + Metternich-Stele, Taf. III, 78; cf. Zeitschrift f. äg. Spr., 1879, 1.
- ## Le Page Renouf, Egyptian Grammar, 21.
- §§ Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 194, 2.
- |||| Zeitschrift f. äg. Sprache, etc., für 1879, p. 136. ¶¶ Ibid., p. 138.
- *** Todtenbuch, Kap. 153.

"Es kommen zum Vorschein die Hände hier aus dem Gewässer."*

From the examples quoted it is evident that A signifies come forth from, sortir de. It consequently only remains to determine the last word of the title.

The preceding analysis demonstrates, as I believe, philologically, that per em hru may be correctly translated, "Coming forth from the day," i.e., the light of day. As it is the title of the Book of the Dead, it cannot signify anything but: Coming forth from the light of day here on earth into the darkness of the infernal regions.

I have in another work, written in Norwegian, treated in detail the conceptions, partly contradictory, differing as they did according to time and locality, which the Egyptians had of the kingdom and the life hereafter, viz.:—

- (1.) They first imagined the dark grave to be the land of the Hereafter; but as the grave gradually extended, it became an infernal World, also dark, for there reigned \(\sigma\) \(\sigma
- (2.) Later on, the dark infernal World got its light and friendly regions: the fertile field Aalu (Elysion) and the sunny lands of the West, where the Just lived a life of bliss.
 - (3.) Gradually the belief was adopted by the whole country, that
 - * Brugsch, "Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter," p. 216.
 - † Chabas, "Mélanges égyptologiques," III s., II t., p. 220.
- ‡ I consequently do not believe that the doubt of Lepsius on this subject (Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte des Tödtenbuchs," p. 7) is important.
 - § J. Lieblein, "Gammelægyptisk Religion," Vol. III, pp. 114 ss.

the Blessed were to sail in the boat of the Sun with Ra and his attendants during the day over the heavens, and during the night (a) either through the dark infernal regions, or (b) through the world of stars \bigcirc , deva. Besides this most common conception, here and there existed—

- (4.) A belief that the blessed Deceased, relinquishing his individual existence, was to be absorbed in God, or
- (5.) The persuasion, incompatible with this, that he was to retain his individual existence, and to be able to assume whatever form he wished, also a renewed body, with which he might return to the earth.

Besides these beliefs about the life of the Blessed, there were others about the hereafter of the Damned; but they are of less importance for us here; for, firstly, the doctrine about this was only developed later on, and secondly, it has little prominence in the Book of the Dead, in which it is piously presumed that the Deceased will be happy.

In the accounts of the Book of the Dead about the life in the other world, the notion of the infernal regions as a realm of darkness plays a prominent part; it was both one of the most ancient and most widespread. It would therefore be natural and rather characteristic that the Book of the Dead, in accordance with such a belief, was called The Book of the Coming forth from the light of day here on earth into the darkness of the infernal regions. It is at any rate more natural than that the Egyptians, as, per example, M. Lefébure thinks,* should have named the book from the late and little prominent doctrine of the return of the Deceased to life on earth.

I. LIEBLEIN.

CHRISTIANIA, NORWAY, May, 1885.

JUNE 2]

The following Communication has been received from M. E. Lefébure:—

LE NOM ÉGYPTIEN DE L'ICHNEUMON.

Les communications faites en Mars 1885 à la Société d'Archéologie Biblique contiennent, entre autres mémoires d'un grand intérêt, une notice du Rev. A. Löwy sur la Belette et le Chat, d'après le Dr. Placzek, et cette notice peut donner matière à quelques remarques additionnelles.

^{*} Chabas, "Mélanges égyptologiques," III s., II t., p. 234.

Si la belette, chez les Sémites, a précédé le chat comme animal domestique sous le nom de *choled* ou *chulda*, et si le chat l'a remplacée sous le nom de *shurra* et de *chathul*, nous retrouvons la même désignation appliquée en Egypte à un animal qui ne paraît pas à la vérité avoir supplanté le chat, mais qui du moins a rendu et rend quelquefois encore les mêmes services: cet animal est l'ichneumon, ou rat de Pharaon, en copte $\text{cuspor}\lambda$, en égyptien $\text{cupp}\lambda$, \text

Au tombeau de Ramsès VI (Champollion, "Notices," t. II, p. 512-3) le nom de $\chi a\theta ur$ est donné à un ichneumon qui est là une forme d'Horus em χ enti mer-ti, $\frac{2}{3}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ $\frac{1}{3$

Le culte de l'ichneumon paraît fort ancien: dès la 12º dynastie Amenemhat III est dit, au Labyrinthe, l'ami du dieu Khatru, l'ami du a certainement favorisé son apothéose (cf. Plutarque, "d'Is. et d'Os.," 74), n'a donc pas été précédée, au moins d'après les textes connus, par celle du chat, qui n'est nommé qu'a partir de la 12º dynastie (Champollion, "Notices," t. II, p. 381); tandis que l'ichneumon semble déjà representé dans quelques tableaux de l'ancien empire ("Denkmäler," II, pl. 12, 60, 77, etc., et Mariette, la galerie de l'Egypte ancienne, 1878, p. 26). Le chat était comme l'ichneumon, divinisé sous le moyen Empire (Lepsius, "Aelteste Texte," pl. 3, l. 35, etc.; et Zaitschrift, 1885, p. 9). Il est clair que le point de départ de ces divinisations dont être reporté à une époque encore antérieure.

On voit que l'observation du Rev. A. Löwy sur l'emploi d'un même nom pour désigner différents animaux se trouve confirmée ici, car il n'y a pas de doute que la racine du nom égyptien de l'ichneumon ne soit la même que celle du nom sémitique de la belette et du chat.

E. Lefébure.

The following Communication has been received from Professor Sayce:—

More Greek Ostraka from Karnak.

While in Egypt last winter I secured a few more ostraka from Karnak, though the supply has now nearly come to an end. The houses of the village where they have been found have been pretty thoroughly explored by the *fellahin*, and little more is to be discovered in them in the way either of *sebahh* for the fields, or ostraka for the *khowāgah*. The first I will give is written in debased capitals. I presented it to M. Maspero:—

Ισορνηλως Ισορνηλιος
 Σενπτομνιος καιπναπ(?)... (το)
 τελος του μηνος Τυβι
 L ιη Τιβειρου (sic) καισαρος
 σεβαστου φαωφι γ̄

"Isornêlôs, the son of Isornêlis the Senptomnian (?) the tax for the month Tybi. The 18th year of Tiberius Cæsar Augustus, the 3rd of Paopi."

"Papseukhios son of Phaêsis has acquitted on behalf of Pekysis for the workmen's tax. I have registered six argentei....
The sixth year of Trajan Cæsar the lord."

A signature follows which I cannot read. The ϵ of Pekysis has been omitted, and π stands for $\pi \rho \delta$.

Διεγ. Παχυνι[⊥] φ . . .
 ν χ^ω γ [⊥] ς ς ς εξ . . • // η
 Τρα . . . καισαρος του κυριου Παωφ κθ . . .

"Pakhynios Ph... has acquitted on behalf of the workmen's tax. I have registered six triobols. The eighth year of Tra(jan) Cæsar the lord. Paopi the 20th..."

Μετρ — θης καμ πενή μαι...
Τραιανου του κυριου Παυνι ε (ονο)
Χαταβους πυρου αρταβας....
τετρα και εικοσι... | Γ. αςκο....
και ον^ο Χαταβους Παναμεω.....
δωδεκα τα | Γιβή = Ωρου Ευγ μ...

"Metrês, the measurer, the tax-collector of the poor (?) . . . (the ... th year) of Trajan the lord, the fifth of Payni, in the name of Khatabôs 24 ardebs of wheat , and in the name of Khatabôs son of Panameôn 12 ardebs. Of Oros Eugenês . . . " Perhaps the final μ... is for μισθωτής.

Metrès appears as "treasurer" in the 12th year of Trajan on an ostrakon (No. 25) given in my first paper on the Karnak Ostraka (Proceedings, Nov. 4, 1884, p. 21). As money was paid to him that year in the name of Petekhons son of Khatabos, it seems probable that the ostrakon now before us belongs to the first few years of The spelling Rau shows that I was right in Trajan's reign. explaining the title by καλαμήγραφος, but I was wrong in reading the next word yev. It is plainly $\pi \epsilon \nu$ here. It may be a contraction of πενήτων or some compound of πέντε.

> 5. $\mathbf{E}\rho' \pi\rho\alpha^{\kappa} \dots o\nu o) \mathbf{\Pi} a\psi o \dots$ Φ aρ ιτ(?)μρ(?) γη Lκ Τραιανου καισαρος του κυριου Φαωφι ϊβ

"Hermias, the collector of money (πράκτωρ άργυρικῆς), in the name of Papso.. Paupis..., I have registered half(?). The month Pharmuthi (?) ... the 20th year of Trajan Cæsar the lord, the 12th day of Paopi."

Besides being badly written, this ostrakon is mutilated and nearly illegible. In the second line fluor may possibly be intended, and in the third line we perhaps have ὑπὲρ μερισμοῦ τῆς " for the assessment of the land." Trajan reigned a little over 19 years and a half.

> 6. Μεθης μίζ πες κα L Κομμοδου Αντωνινου καισαρος του κυριου Παυνι $\bar{\iota}\theta$ $\bar{\upsilon}$ χ^{\perp} $\bar{\upsilon}\nu^{o}$ ου Ανουριωνος Φαμινιος

"Methês, the tax collector of the poor (?), of the 21st (= the 11th) year of Commodus Antoninus, the 19th of Payni, on behalf of the workmen's tax, in the name of Anuriôn Phaminios"

The latter part of the ostrakon has been broken off.

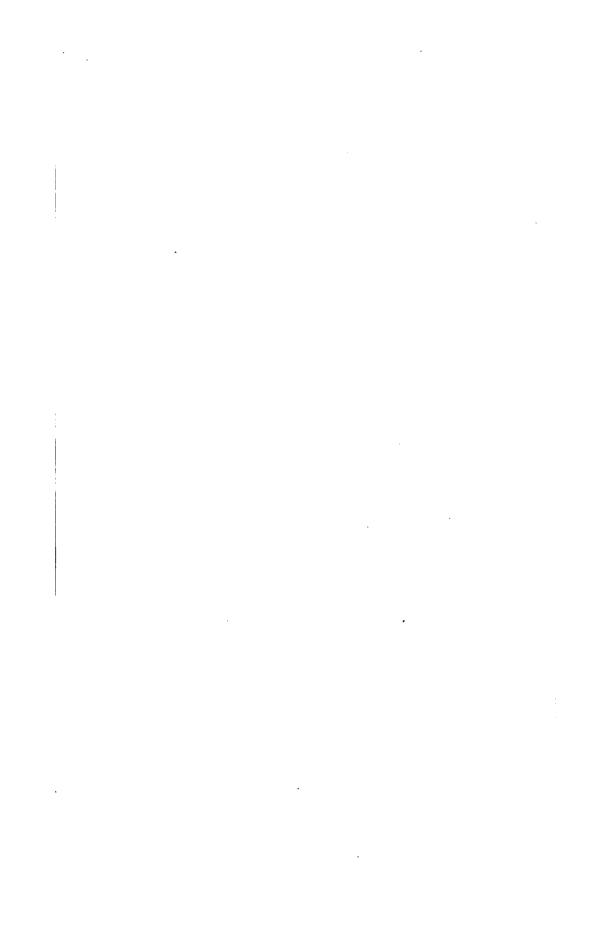
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F THE ROMAN PERIOD seum № 10109. on (68.11.2.504)

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हारास्ट्राक्ष्णिक कार्यक किंदिन के स्थापित

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Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch. June 188

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ROMAN PERIOD.

° 10108.

12二次为11公共和11公共

de Meline

• . . •

Commodus only reigned alone 13 years, 21 must be a mistake for 11. Methês appears on ostraka 33 and 26 of my former paper (where I have wrongly assigned the date of 26 to the time of Trajan). We now find that he continued in his office from the 11th year of Commodus (A.D. 191) to the first year of Pescennius Niger (A.D. 193).

7. Μεσχις μ^{4} μ^{14} η^{L} Αυρηλιανου αυτοκρ(α)τορ(ος)
και a^{L} Κλαυδιου καισαρων
των κυριων πυ. $\bar{i}\eta$ $H\hat{\lambda}$ ον⁰ Ω ρο \bar{j} πυρου t δυο /t β \hat{a} π κς(?) $\hat{\delta}$ t δμιου a . . . σ t) αντ

"Meskhis, collector of taxes for the eighth year of the Emperor Aurelian, and the first year of Claudius, the Cæsars and lords, receives 18 ardebs of wheat in the name of Oros: two measures of wheat from ... he owes to the State 6 drachmæ..."

This is an important ostrakon, as it is by far the latest yet found, the first year of M. Claudius Tacitus being A.D. 275. The regnal year of Aurelian, however, causes a difficulty. The only clearly-written letter in the whole ostrakon is the η of the first line, which is a large capital. Nevertheless Aurelian's reign did not last more than six years, and he was murdered in March, six months before the succession of Claudius.

In the fourth and sixth lines $\hat{\chi}$, $\hat{\alpha}$, and $\hat{\delta}$, stand (as elsewhere) for $\lambda a\mu\beta \hat{u}\nu\epsilon_i$, $d\pi\hat{\sigma}$ and $\delta\epsilon\hat{\epsilon}$,* and $\delta\mu\omega\nu$ seems to represent $\delta\eta\mu\hat{\omega}\nu$. The amount of wheat owing is the same as that mentioned in Ostrakon 25 of my former paper.

This is a mere fragment, containing the names of certain taxpayers.

^{*} Unless â is ἀργύρια as in my Ostrakon 34.

```
z a 3 . . . .
                                 υκ 2. ξιλ
  Συρος
           Ορο / Αρτεμω
  \Pi \tau \mu^{\omega}
                       Apov L υκλ ) κε(?)
           2
/ Ψενχ" 2 ρκ
                       \Pi \epsilon \nu \epsilon^{\perp} \chi^{\pi} \dots
/ Πενεχ<sup>ω</sup> 2 ρο
                       (Ψαμπευς του χ
                                         δυν
 I µou^ Vt / xL
  Ψενεμυ 2 ρο
 Tews
/ Ερμιου
/ Μηαντευς
```

10.	Κρητυλιων	000			
	Nikolas	TV	Ψενοσιρις:	TO	
	Σταοτους	ωĸ	Πασημις:	σο	
	Νιλων	ψı	Διδυμος	фк	
	Προμαχος	σκ	Πικως	TO	
	Ψενχωρισις	$\rho\pi$	Σαραπιων	o	
	Πτολεμαι ος	σ	Αρτεμων	ρκ	
	Πταορηρις	σι	Ωρος Θεογ ^ε	ρο	
	Ηρ Κεφαλων	σλ	ο του Κροκοδ	π	
	Ωρος Ιμουθου	σο	Αρμιυσις	ρκ	
	Δεξιλας	ρκ	Αμμωνιος	TK	
	Ιμουθης	φν	Ερμων	σμ	
	Κορραγος	λε	Δαιμαχος	π	
	Φιλων	ρq	Ισιδωρος	π	
	Θεοδωρος	σμ	ο του Καμ ^ω	π ·	
	Αξεινη	ρκ	Πτολεμ Πυρρου	π	
	Ερμιας	ρμ	Επωνυχος	π	
			Ματιηλος	ρμ	
			Μενανδρος	λε	
			ο του Ταεινιος	9	
			Ηρακλειδης Μεσοηρις	K	Ιασων
			Κιτης κ Ερμοδωρος	9	Αμμωνιος
					π

^{*} In one of the quarries at Turrah I found the following name carved twice in he rock, on the left of the entrance, EMOYOHC. On the right was a group of lions, also incised in the rock.

This is a complete list of tax-payers, in two, or rather three columns, and is written in a large clear hand. The numbers are high, and must be compared with those given in Ostrakon 45 of my former Paper. The numeral attached to the name of Hermodôros is 90. Three of the tax-payers are called after their fathers, the first of them being "the son of Krokodeilos." One of the Greek graffiti I have copied at Dêr el-Bahari is Αμμωνιος Νειλεως Κροκοδείλος (misprinted in a former contribution of mine to this Society). Matiêlos is a Semitic name.

I add here two more ostraka, purchased at Karnak last winter by M. Golénishef.

```
    Πετεμοστους

            ν ῖα ξ ῖβ π ῖδ π
            ῖε ρ ῖς π ῖζ ο ῦη π
            (ῖθ) ν εκ ο εκβ ξ κ̄γ ν
```

Very doubtfully I suggest the following explanation of this curious ostrakon: "Petemostous receives ($\xi_{\chi\epsilon_i}$, line 4) on the 10th day 50, on the 11th 60, on the 12th 80, on the 14th 80, on the 15th 100, on the 16th 80, on the 17th 70, on the 18th 80, on the 19th 50, on the 20th 70, on the 22nd 60, on the 23rd 50..."

12. $T\iota(?)\pi \alpha \iota \nu^{\omega} \ldots \pi \sigma^{\upsilon} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota^{\varrho} \pi \alpha \rho \alpha$ Αγαθοδαιμον Απολλοδ $\vec{\nu}(?)$ νεχο αμ(?)και επετδ $\Pi(\epsilon)$ τηνσην $\gamma \rho^{\lambda}$ τω επ(?)εσα λ (?) ι θ L Αυρηλιου Αντωνινου και Κομμοδ καισαρων (των) κυριων εστι δε $\sigma(?)$. . ηδια(?) . . ευθρα ονο Σαραπιωνος καὶ Ψεν..ριρ..... Αρποκρατ > ες ... να β L ... κα ι β αλ το νακολ ονο Ταχρα...ιδ φιλο.. ονο ζ- η 🖫 αμ δ ή ψ αλ κρ δ και ονο Πετεψαιτο Ποριευθο 2- ΔΨ αμ J ζκο Ψ και Ποριευθο Παμμονθο λ ε L $a^{\mu} \to E_{\rho} \dots \tau_{\rho} \wedge \kappa^{\mu \rho} \cup \gamma = \Pi_{\epsilon \tau} \overline{\epsilon_{\mu \epsilon}}$ Π ете χ ^{ЄS} Π ократо кац κρος αδλ και Τεσωτο αλ $a\delta^{\lambda} \gamma \cup \sqrt{4/\sigma \lambda_0} \gamma \iota \nu (?) o$ Ποριευθυ Πετεμενω και αλ κο κα(?)ρδ Ταριω(?)νοαριζ και αλ δι δια τα γ και αλ Κλημ Πετεαρου και αλ

This ostrakon is unfortunately only partly legible, owing to an incrustation of silicate with which many of the characters are covered. I cannot guarantee the accuracy of my transcription throughout. The third line reads: "I Petênsên write the necessary accounts" (ἐπιτήδεια; the final δ shows that the word is not ἐπέτεια). The date is the "19th year of Aurelius Antoninus and Commodus, Cæsars and lords." This was the last year of Marcus Aurelius, who reigned 19 years 10 days, dying on the 17th of March, A.D. 180 The abbreviations al for ἀλλοι and αδλ for ἀδελρός are new; au seems to be ἀμα. The mutilated state of the text, however, makes me decline to attempt a translation of it.

M. Revillout has asked whether I can give details as to the locality at or near Erment from which the ostraka I have translated in my former Paper are said to have come. I regret that I cannot do so. The dealers in whose hands they were stated that they were found "at Erment." This, however, does not even make it certain that they were derived from the old mounds of Hermonthis; my experience of such statements leads me to believe that they were not, but rather from some unknown point between Erment and Medinet Abû.

A dealer in antiquities at Ekhmîm informed me that inscribed shukkaf or potsherds, similar to the Karnak ones, were discovered from time to time in the mounds of Menshîyeh. As the mounds are full of objects of the Græco-Roman period, the statement is very credible, though when I was at Menshîyeh no ostraka were offered to me for sale, nor in fact anything of value. But this was before I had received the information, and it never occurred to me when at Menshîyeh to ask about "shukkaf."

A. H. SAYCE.

The following Communication has been received from Dr. A. Wiedemann:—

On a Monument of the time of King Chu-en-iten.

During the last few years the reign and religious opinions of Chu-en-aten have been treated several times, especially since the discovery of the tomb of Rames at Thebes by Mr. H. Villiers Stuart in 1879, from which very valuable material was obtained for the beginning of this period of the religious history of Egypt. Also in other parts of Egypt new monuments have been found, so that we

now possess a far larger series of notes than Lepsius had when he wrote his first classical essay on this king. The newly found inscriptions show, as I have already pointed out ("Handbuch der aeg. Geschichte," p. 44 sqq., 396 sqq. The same opinion has been developed since by Bouriant, "Rec. de trav. rel." e.c. VI, p. 52, sqq.), that the town from which the religion of Aten took its origin was Heliopolis; and that this religion was not at all a newly introduced one, but Chu-en-aten tried to force upon all Egypt a local form of the sun-god Ra at the expense of the other gods, whose names and even monuments at some places he destroyed. This special form of Ra is the only Egyptian divinity which has a clearly expressed henotheistic character, and so it will be very interesting to find out its deeper meaning, the forms of its cult, the different amulets having relation to it, e.c., questions the solution of which is rendered even now difficult by the small number of existing monuments.

As it appears, later generations tried to destroy all the inscriptions relating to Aten throughout Egypt, excepting only the monuments at the mother-town of the cult. Heliopolis. But also there we find very few remains of that period, as in general only little is left of the sacred town of Ra, and, worse for us, the necropolis of this city, which must have contained a large number of rich tombs, has not yet been found. It is probable that the tombs were situated not far from the actually existing ruins of the temples, perhaps a little to the south-east of Matariye; but all the country is now covered by the sands of the Arabic desert. Near Matariye, where a few years before an establishment for the breeding of ostriches was built, fragments with the names of Chu-en-aten, Ramses II and Seti II have been found (cf. Maspero, "Aeg. Zeitschr.," 1881, p. 116) deep under the sand, indicating the place where the temple of Aten was erected; further excavations on this site would certainly produce valuable texts.

Until richer material is found either here or elsewhere in Egypt, we are forced to take our information about Åten from the few monuments preserved in the country itself, especially at Tel-el-Amarna, or dispersed in the different collections of Europe. To one of these texts, unknown till now, I wish to call attention.

The text covers an Uschebti-statuette of brown-burned clay now preserved in the Museum of Zürich; it has probably been overlooked up to the present time, because this collection, celebrated as one of the best for the knowledge of lacustrine dwellings, contains only very few monuments of other kinds. The statuette is of the ordinary shape; the head is covered by a large wing and the two hands lying on the breast hold the plough —. Below we see engraved, and this is very curious, a horizontal stick lying, on the two sides of which hangs a basket. Underneath this picture the seven-lined inscription, running from right to left begins:—

(1) Royal offering to the living Aten, who illuminates (2) each country with his beauties; he gives the sweet breath (3) of northwind, (4) libations, wine (5) milk, the gifts of all young (6) flowers, to the person of (7) his sister, the lady of the house Ketet."

This formula is quite unusual on monuments of the kind. Loret has shown ("Rec. de trav. rel.," e.c. IV, p. 93) that the coccurs on some Uschebtis of the 13th dynasty, but then in an abbreviated form, and not in full as is here the case. Further, the denomination of Ketet as the sister of Aten is very curious, and throws a new and peculiar light on the comprehension of this Egyptian divinity. Lastly there has never been found an Uschebti dedicated to Aten.* On account of these peculiarities this Uschebti becomes therefore one of the most valuable documents in existence for the knowledge and explanation of the cult of Aten.

The other Egyptian monuments in the Museum at Zürich are less important. There are several Uschebtis. One of them is beautifully worked in black wood; its inscription contains the ordinary Uschebti-formula, and shows that the monument belonged to the

*Another small monument of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the Louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is to be seen in the Salle civile at the louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the same time is the louvre. It is a piece of wood showing the inscription of the louvre is a piece of wood showing the louvre is a piece of wood showing the louvre is a piece of wood showing the louvre is a piece of wood showi

Among the few scarabs there is one with the cartouche of own by, which is twice repeated on the stone; another with the name of King Taharka of the 25th dynasty; a third with the inscription by. The other exemplars have as little interest as a longer series of figures of small gods, sacred animals, amulets, and so on, of which some even are false. Only one stone is worth notice; it shows a king in adoration, with the inscription

Finally the Museum possesses a writer's tablet in wood of the ordinary rectangular shape. At the top are two cavities of the form O destined for the black and the red ink-colour. Underneath there is the hollow for the pencil, and right and left the inscription of the soldiers, Hā-t-àiī.

Dr. A. WIEDEMANN.

* Probably this man is to be identified with the probably this man is to be identified with the probably Lieblein, "Dictionnaire des noms," Nr. 750).

The following communication has been received from Dr. Birch.

ROMAN PAPYRI.

At the time of the Roman dominion in Egypt the older ritual had completely disappeared, and was replaced by the Shai en-sensin, the book of the sighs or lamentations of Isis (Brugsch, "Sai en sen sin": 4to. Berlin, 1851), or else by short papyri or extracts of the ritual, consisting of ideas or paragraphs taken from the ritual. These short papyri deposited with the mummies are about the first century, A.D., and the hieratic texts in which they are written differs almost entirely from that used in the Saïte versions of B.C. 600, and the XXXth Dynasty, B.C. 348. A good example of the handwriting of the Ptolemaic period will be seen in the Rhind Papyrus which I published, which consists of a ritual in the later hieratic and in demotic writing. The collection of these later rituals in the British Museum illustrates still further the degradation of the hieratic script up to the first century of the Christian era.

10108.

Hieratic Papyrus of the Roman Period; the writing neat and distinct.

- Hathor Tenttemi justified, born of Tamesko justified, the soul lives in the heaven at the Sun.
- 2. ... Osiris lord of the spirits and mummies as lord as chief of the illuminated established on earth to Seb.
- 3. (Kar)neter (Hades) detained under the principal male children howling in her her afen.
- 4. in power of there they made for me a good funeral, preparing it in their rest ordered in the west of Thebes in the rays of those born.
- 5. given by the good West are her hands to receive me stand the mummies, stopping me Anubis receives me at the Hall of the
- (two Truths) placed among as one very select those following Socharis the chief of the Bull of the West my soul proceeds to heaven

- 7. resting itself (or hovering over) on the body in Aker open the the chief of clothes in the place of birth. I..... the extinguishing.
- 8. going on earth seeing those belonging to it, regarding all the circumstances of the house, knowing those going in their clothes to the baba (cave).
- 9. to the the day of living in the festival hearing the openers of the festivals who are in Auli saved by Sekhet walking.
- 10. things on the altars day the night of the festivals of the sixth the day of the festival I approach to the region of Nifur the region of the scarab on the day of the festival,
- 11. great of Socharis shining in the boat, the nostril living in Abydos made of all places of the in, the sanctuary making all ceremonies of the festival of coming forth from the day.
- 12. pure of the altar(?) in the . . . like Ba the chief in Heliopolis, flourishes the name in Western Thebes in the name for ever as flourishes the name.
- may Khonsu, Shu the great one in Western Thebes in his entering Aat Temi the place of genii
- 14. to my plans father of fathers. I stand (in) the valley, my hands raised in adoration to the great form over all the gods the day Har.
- of the living, living in Western Thebes after he goes to the land of Nemankh?
- 16. . . . the year leading his fathers and his mothers, the duration of the age, the kings for ever the circle is unfailing material.

Although this papyrus is fairly written, there are in it some abnormal forms. The extraordinary character at the beginning of line 2 is probably a variant of χu , "spirit," and it recurs in Papyrus No. 10112, and in the same expression. In line 3 is the difficult form which looks like χu , "spirit," and it recurs in Papyrus No. 10112, and in the same expression. In line 3 is the difficult form which looks like χu , "for mash—of which a similar form is found in line 7, apparently a form of ness or nesses, "to creep in," or "go under." In line 8 is also the word χu χ

10109.

- I. The words of the Hathorian Tent'ami justified born of Tameska justified, I am Rā at his rising, I am Tum in his setting.
- 2. I am Osiris the great god, lord of the West, in the night I am the ibis the black-headed, the white-bosomed, the blue-backed, I am.
- The rescued soul ordered his fore part in Heliopolis to hear his words in Amenseχerland ye to me, the doorkeepers of
- 4. the land of the West the guardians of the Tiau let me go in, let me come out by you the holders of swords seeing the gods who are
- 5. in the service of Osiris the gods who are in the hall of the two Truths the gods who in the halls of the Aahlu (Elysium) ye to me the gods of the
- 6. Tiau entire, let me go in, let me go in, a soul to the mother Ma, to me Athor the regent of the West Ma circling,
- she has the West, may I go in, may I come out, may fly I above with the souls of the gods and goddesses give thou it justification to me.
- 8. Anubis son of Osiris the doorkeepers before the Tiau may I go in to the hall, may I make one in
- 9. the crew of Osiris intelligent among the servants following my ka (bull) in peace, giving me libations of waters in the great place above like the old chief in Heliopolis.
- 10. O Thoth give thy breath to me, justify me against my enemies as thou justifiest Osiris before the good head kings in Heliopolis in the night of
- Abussir the night of setting up the Tat in Tattu (Abusir) before the head kings.
- 12. of the East the night of the festival of prevailancy. The heaven before the chief kings in Hek the night of the festival of Socharis before the head kings.
- 13. who are in Pu (Buto) and Tep (Buto) the night when Horus is received in the place of rest the gods the of Harheken (said) four times the rays
- 14. of the sun, the breath of Amen the water of the inundation I give them entire.

This papyrus which is of the same person and period, is also well written in a legible hieratic. It contains some rare if not unusual 206

expressions, as the mention of the ibis in line 2. The initial phrase line $I ext{ } ext{ }$

Papyrus, British Museum, No. 10,111.

This papyrus is well written, but imperfect.

- 1. So may flourish the name of Seb within Uas (Thebes) within the hills for ever and ever.
- 2. So may flourish the name of Seb in nekht.
- 3. So may flourish the name of the god Ah (Thoth) in Smunu (Heliopolis).
- 4. So may flourish the name of the god Mentha in their waters or towns.
- 5. So may flourish the name of Num in the East or Abydos.
- 6. So may flourish the name of Horus lord of
- 7. So may flourish the name of Neben in Neben (Eileithya).
- So may flourish the name of the gods lords in Uas (Western Thebes).
- 9. So may flourish the name of Hareri, lord of the South, in the region of s.
- 10. So may flourish the name of the goddess Ust (Bast) in Southern Hesar.
- 11. So may flourish the name of Athor in Gemi.
- 12. So may flourish the name of Neferhotep in the temple of Kherp.....
- 13. So may flourish the name of Senti in Merpu.
- 14. So may flourish the name of Athor in Gemi.
- 15. So may flourish the name of Apuat in Sace (Saïs).
- 16. So may flourish the name of Athor in Hebs.
- . 17. So may flourish the name of Horus in Nebennu (Eileithya).
 - 18. So may flourish the name of Anubis in Hesu.
 - So may flourish the name of Haranf hti in Suten khennu (Heracleopolis).
 - 20. So may flourish the name of Sebak in Merur.
 - 21. So may flourish the names of Ptah, Sekhet, and Nefer Tum, in the region of the White Wall (Memphis).

The upper part of the second page is wanting like the first. It commences in the midst of a prayer.

- I.
- 2. Thy rays may I see in the course of every day oh
 Hap [Nile] give to me libations and corn I have brought liquor
- favourable, I have brought beer, and I have brought milk,
- 4. my hands raised to receive the ordered sepulchral meals given, and the . . .
- 5. coming in the belly of Osiris I go to him in Karneter
- 6. I have come living all living I am the ibis (?) living
- 7. having been hailed in my name, live all the gods in announcing my name for ever and ever,
- 8. mouth and hands to thee being thy soul loving thee its kas to the place of thy ka
- 9. delighting in his mouth thy have placed before thee Truth very great thy like has done
- 10. thy father the royal hand (children) thy have caused to live the
- 11. cut by his fingers they are being in peace in thy { hands fingers } in the place of Truth
- 12. not art thou ... their ka in thy delays the ear in the ... of Truth in the land of
- 13. Truth men and spirits loving the gods and good is thy ka
- 14. is thy name in the order of ... what is done in that thou art in all
- 15. thy funeral hiding thy circumstances in rejoicing oppose thy mouth to the good moment for
- 16. hearing the vows the gods ruling the blessed in his favour
- 17. said by thy mouth made true thy words daily . . . the ka, thou dividest the

This papyrus has an endorsement, but it is difficult to read. The character resembles Demotic. The text of the second part resembles 10,112, the subsequent papyrus. In line 9, page 2, occurs to ntm, "delight."

i.

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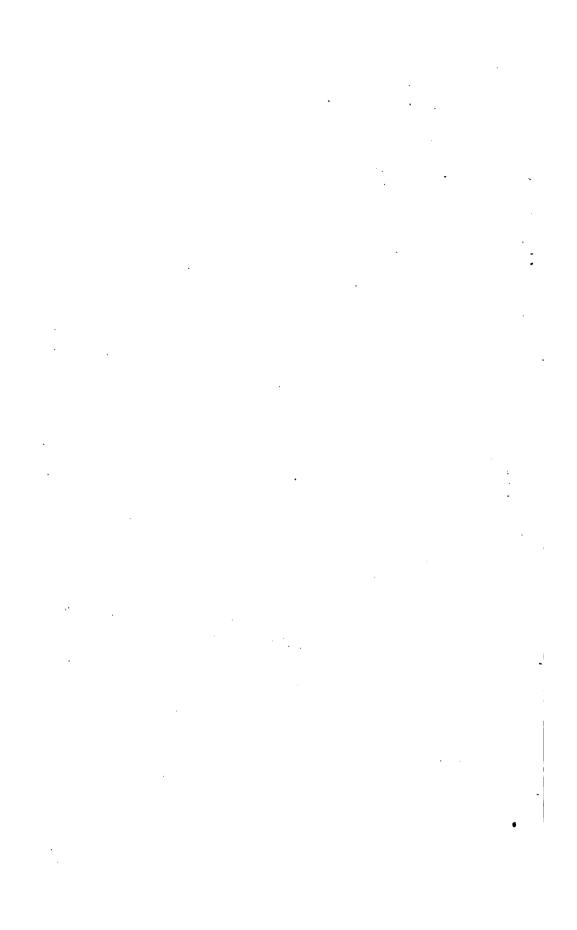
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10112.

- 1. Hail Athor Ta s'erpoeru ab justified.
- 2. born of Thantnub justified lives, the soul in heaven at
- 3. the sun strengthened in her ka among the spirits the mummy
- 4. amongst the spirits thy name established on earth to Seb,
- 5. the body placed in Aker (Hades) detained having the children
- 6. seen in the power while detained
- 7. with the children instead of what they do to the ka a very good burial
- 8. very they cause to rest the words in the West of the Thebaid in the rays
- of light regent of the month, delighted the West gives her hands to receive thee standing by order of Nut and Neben not inverted the
- 10. the asu not not trampling on the coffin not has gone round
- 11. the body for ever Anubis, has received me at the hall of the two
 Truths
- he gives me to be one of the most favoured the followers of Socharis
- 13. flies the soul above as the scarab
- 14. resting or hovering on the body in Hades coming on earth seeing those belonging to it
- 15. regarding all affairs in the house in knowing
- 17. the evil which is in their changes of the cavern
- 18. going to Nifuer the day of things on the altar festival the night
- 19. of the festival of the sixth of the festival going to Nifuer on the day of the festival
- 20. of the lesser heat suspending the heaven going forth to Tattu (Abuser) on the festival of Kahaka (Choiats)
- 21. the day of setting up the Tat by the of the gods he has his throat suppled by Khonsu Shu
- 22. the greatest in the Western Thebaid supply the gods the mouth of the ka with . . . every ten day comes the living type of the sun
- 23. in the Western Thebaid existing for ages delighted for ever circling without cessation.

This papyrus is endorsed.

"A good burial established over his bones flourishing for his flesh, not the good West gives her hands to by orders of the regent in baku. See line 10.

There are many difficulties in the papyrus, the script of which is more difficult than the preceding. In line 3 is apparently a correction, thine for her being introduced; in line 6 is the difficult variant perhaps for \bigcap \bigcup ua. The word \bigcap \bigcap to

understand,' with making | = | = fis unusual; in line 9 is of apparently a variation of hut, 'light;' line 10 has also | fight afty is probably intended ab, a fly is probably intended.

The following Communication has been received from Mr. P. Le Page Renouf:-

THE TITLE OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD.

Professor Lieblein will, I trust, pardon me for saying that he has not by any means "philologically demonstrated" the incorrectness of M. Lefébure's interpretation of the Title of the Book of the Dead, or offered any evidence in behalf of his own view.

All his citations merely illustrate two facts which no Egyptologist has ever doubted, viz., that per, signifies, "come forth," and that kem signifies "from, out of." It was certainly quite unnecessary to pile up a heap of quotations on behalf of such elementary truths. M. Lefébure has assuredly the right to tell him, "qu'il a enfoncé une porte ouverte!"

It does not follow as a necessary conclusion from these elementary facts that $\bigcap_{A} \bigcap_{B} \bigcap_{A} \bigcap_{B} \bigcap_{A} \bigcap_{B} \bigcap_{A} \bigcap_{B} \bigcap_{A} \bigcap_{B} \bigcap$ conclusion is at once apparent if we look at parallel instances in well-known and familiar languages.

The French verb sortir is the equivalent of the Egyptian per, and the preposition de is the equivalent of the Egyptian em. But if I say, "Je suis sorti de bonne heure," or "de bon matin," no one would suppose that I had come out of a good hour, or of early morning. When Cicero says, "Milo de nocte venit," we understood

that Milo came at night, not out of the night. When Cæsar, "proficiscitur de quarta vigilia," we know that he set out at the fourth watch. "Navigare de mense Decembri" is not to "sail out of the month of December," but after the month has begun.

In all these instances, the preposition de, like many of its equivalents in other languages, is used in a temporal, not in a local sense, and if Professor Lieblein wishes to overthrow M. Lefébure's view, he ought to prove that the Egyptian preposition is never used in this way. He will not try to prove this, because he well knows that there are innumerable instances of the temporal use of . In the Sallier Calendar, for instance, this preposition is always used in the expression "on this day," which occurs of burial" (Todt., 13, 3). A see a em unnut, "at the hour,"

A ? em renpit ten, em àāh pen, "on this year," "on this month," are well known phrases, and they do not alter their signification if the verb per happens to be placed before them. So the per em unnut, is appearing, or "coming forth at the hour." So the per em unnut, is appearing, or per ef em ra neb mer-ef, "he comes forth on every day that he pleases." per-kuà em rā pen, "may I come out on this day" (Todt., 65, 2). The preposition may be translated in, on, at, by, according to, like, &c., according to the context, but it invariably denotes the side from which the action spoken of is considered. per-ef em hotep, is "he comes forth in peace," or peacefully. per em maāxeru, is "coming forth in triumph," or triumphantly. Sper-à em bennu nutàr tuau, "I come forth as the Bennu, the god of dawn."

Professor Lieblein's version of per em hru, as "coming forth from the light of day," is not, I believe, consistent with the true sense either of per or of hru. Per em is "coming forth from," in the sense of "making an appearence at," i.e., "on this side of."

but "appear in the sky." The pure lotus (Todt., 81, 2)

per em sexet Rā, which "springs from the garden of Rā," never leaves that garden. The forty-two gods of the 125th chapter, who per, severally, either cem Annu at Heliopolis; cem Abaut,* or at all other localities named are not supposed to abandon these places.

Even if hru meant the "light of day," the title of the book so far from signifying "Coming forth from the light of day here on earth into the darkness of the infernal regions," would be impossible as a translation. The Egyptian construction would imply that the words are said, not by those "here on earth," but by those who inhabit the darkness of the infernal regions. The preposition indicates that the speaker is not in the place or situation whence something is said to proceed.

But does hru ever mean daylight? It is useless to say that there can be no doubt that it does, and add in a note that, "I consequently do not believe that the doubt of Lepsius on the subject is important." The doubt of Lepsius is of extreme importance. He says that he has never once found the word used in the sense of daylight. In the innumerable places where it occurs, it has reference to time only. There is only one way in which a doubt of this importance can be removed, and that is by producing evidence in the opposite direction. No one has yet done so. As I was one of those whose translation Lepsius impugned, I had special reasons to defend the meaning now put upon the word by Professor Lieblein. But I have not found the trace of an argument in its favour. $\bigcap_{n} O r\bar{a}$, is often used instead of $\bigcap_{n} hru$, but when so used, it is only with reference to the time, not the light of day.

"Coming forth by day" is the only version of the title of the Book of the Dead which appears to me admissible, and M. Lefébure has shown that the contents of the book are in perfect harmony with this. Professor Lieblein says that M. Lefébure refers to the

^{*} I may mention in passing that the British Museum papyrus, Hay 4, at this passage (Todt., 125, 15), renders by with the *fish* across the foot of the sign.

numerous passages in the Book of the Dead which speak of such a "But," he adds, "this was only one of the return to the earth. theories about the life of the blessed, and also one of the latest, so that it is very improbable that the book derived its name from it." And he ends his communication with speaking of the "late and little prominent doctrine of the return of the deceased to life on earth." I cannot agree with Professor Lieblein's chronology of Egyptian ideas. I believe it to be altogether fanciful and erroneous. There is no positive evidence whatever that the Egyptians "first imagined the dark grave," &c.; that "Later on, the dark infernal world got its light and friendly regions;" that "Gradually the belief was adopted," and so on. Historical evidence of these assertions is absolutely wanting. Both the Book of the Dead and the Ritual of the Pyramids are probably as ancient as, or even more ancient than, the earliest monument that has been recovered. It is utterly impossible, except in one or two instances, to say which portion of this literature is earlier than the rest. We may, if we please, analyse and systematize the conceptions which are found in these ancient texts, and think that we can prove that some of these conceptions must necessarily be more primitive than others. even if we do this without a mistake, we are no nearer to the solution of the question before us. The most recent of the conceptions in question may have been in existence centuries before there was a Book of the Dead, or before that book was called the Book of Per em hru.

The following Communication has been received from Dr. Birch:—

Hypocephalus in the Collection of Walter Myers, Esq., F.S.A.

The hypocephalus of Mr. Myers is on linen, covered with stucco coloured light brown, the inscriptions and subjects traced in black. The scenes in the middle or pupil represent the mummy of the deceased, adored by four standing cynocephali and the four genii of the dead, Amset, Hapi, Tuaumutf, and Kabhsenuf, mummied, and with their appropriate heads and sashes. Before each genius is

a perpendicular line, the speech of the genius, who says in each case, "I have come to thee for ever." The inscription that runs round the margin or pupil is much injured, and reads, "Royal offering to Osiris lord of the West, great god, lord of Abydos, to Isis (mother goddess), to Nephthys the sister goddess, to Anubis... lord of the Tasr (sepulchral region), to Amset, Hapi, Tuaumutf, and Kabhsenuf, and the gods in Southern An (?) for ever."

This hypocephalus is different from the other, and probably of a very late period, about the Christian era, although there are no peculiarities of language which connect it with the Ptolemaic or imperial period.

S. BIRCH.



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